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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BOURGES 1100-1474

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Bourges 1100-1474" submitted by Laura Christine Hamson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Date December 1, 1978

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the medieval town of Bourges, the capital of the province of Berry. The primary focus is upon the genesis of civic institutions during the period from about 1100, when Bourges became part of the royal domain, until 1474, when a popular revolt in the town caused Louis XI to abolish its traditional form of government.

Bourges is of particular historic interest because it was one of the most prominent _bonnes villes_ in medieval France. Although the _bonnes villes_ did not have the benefit of total emancipation from seigneurial authority and sophisticated systems of self-government, they often enjoyed a flourishing civic life. Yet it is only recently that this type of town has begun to receive the attention of scholars, and many fundamental questions remain to be answered. This study does not provide the basis for generalisations about the _bonnes villes_, for Bourges cannot be regarded as typical. Indeed, it is doubtful that any particular _bonne ville_ could be considered as typical, since the development of municipal government in each town was conditioned primarily by indigenous factors. For this reason, more studies of individual _bonnes villes_ are essential for a better understanding of this type of medieval town.

The first chapter of the thesis, a chronological account of the town's development under four centuries of royal lordship, sets the context for the subsequent topical analysis. The second chapter analyses the dominance of town affairs by the local domanial

administration. Since the king had extensive prerogatives over justice, police, defence, commerce, and general administration in the town, the development of municipal institutions was inevitably inhibited. The third chapter describes the civic government which eventually did emerge during the crisis of the Hundred Years War. It is argued that the elected magistrates, known as the élus, were merely the executive officers of the general assembly of the townspeople. This rudimentary form of self-government functioned under the close surveillance of the king's local officials. The final chapter examines the impact of ecclesiastical temporal power upon the administration of the town. While Bourges was known as a royal town, in fact only the ancient cité was governed by the king. The cathedral cloister and the entire extramural settlement were divided into autonomous burgi ruled by a number of religious foundations exercising complete control over their inhabitants, lay and cleric alike. These multiple jurisdictions not only resulted in frequent conflicts with the domanial administration, but had a deleterious effect upon the development of a viable municipal government.

Despite this constant element of discord in the conduct of civic affairs, Bourges was able by the late fourteenth century to provide the Duke of Berry with a suitable capital, and later to serve as the headquarters for Charles VII during his campaign to regain his kingdom. The evidence points to the conclusion that a strong system of municipal self-government was by no means essential for a town to attain prosperity and national prestige.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this thesis was made possible through two Province of Alberta Graduate Scholarships. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the staffs of the Archives départementales du Cher and the Bibliothèque municipale in Bourges, and of the Archives Nationales and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. I am deeply indebted to Professor C. M. Small and Dr. F. D. Blackley for both stimulating and sustaining my interest in medieval studies. Their criticisms have been invaluable in the preparation of this thesis. And finally, any words of thanks are inadequate to express my gratitude to my parents and to my friends, both in France and in Canada, for their unfailing support throughout this long labour.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Actes du Parlement	E. Boutaric, ed., *Actes du Parlement du Paris*.
Arch. Cher	Archives départementales du Cher (Bourges).
Arch. mun.	Archives municipales de Bourges.
Arch. Nat.	Archives Nationales (Paris).
Bib. Nat.	Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris).
BMOVB	*Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville de Bourges*.
CAHB	*Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry*.
CL	G. T. de la Thaumassière, *Les anciennes et nouvelles coutûmes locales de Berry et celles de Lorris commentées*.
FEB	*Foires-exposition de Bourges*.
Foedera	T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventiones, literae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel comitates*.
HB	L. Raynal, *Histoire du Berry depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'en 1789*.
MSAC	*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*.
MSHC	*Mémoires de la Société historique du Cher*.
MSHLASC	*Mémoires de la Société historique, littéraire, artistique et scientifique du Cher*.
MUSSB	*Mémoires de l'Union des Sociétés savantes de Bourges*.
NC	G. T. de la Thaumassière, *Nouveaux commentaires sur les coutûmes générales des pays et duché de Berry*.
NRHDFE	*Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger*.

Olim	Beugnot, Les Olim, ou registres des arrêts rendus par la cour du roi sous les règnes de Saint-Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis le Hutin et de Philippe le Long.
Ordonnances	Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race jusqu'en 1514.
RB	Revue de Berry.
RH	Revue historique.
RHGF	Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France.

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps because western society is becoming ever more oriented toward urban life, the manner in which our medieval forbears organised themselves in their towns has long intrigued historians. In France the patterns of civic development were so varied that the scope for research has not yet been fully explored, even after at least two centuries of diligent scholarly endeavour.

The type of town prevalent in northern France, the commune, has been especially favoured with thorough study. While each of the communes adopted a form of self-government peculiar to itself, it is generally accepted that the essential element was the *conjuratio*, the oath of mutual defence and support sworn by all the citizens admitted to a commune.[1] The formation of a commune through such a social compact was usually a political act of defiance against a local lord, circumstances which naturally excite the interest of urban historians.

Monographs also abound on another type of emancipated town with an organised *corps municipal*, the consulate towns of the Midi. While this model also knew many variants, it was characterised by the college of consuls, acting as the executive organ with considerable political, judicial, and administrative attributes, and by the council, a deliberative assembly which was consulted on important matters.[2]

The towns of the north and the south of France have thus been broadly categorised by virtue of their readily identifiable systems of self-government. But for a good many medieval towns such classifications are not appropriate. The very multiplicity of designations by which these latter towns are known-- villes de franchise, villes privilégiées, villes de syndicat, villes de bourgeoisie, villes de prévôté-- indicates the elusive nature of their municipal organisation. It is significant that these towns are predominantly in the central region of France, in the heart of the domains of the royal family. The townspeople remained directly subject to their seigneurs, who accorded them certain personal franchises and allowed them to exercise limited powers of self-government, usually through a committee of élus, or elected officials. By the fourteenth century these towns had come to be recognized in royal charters as a distinct group, under the generic name of bonnes villes, the term adopted in this thesis.

Historians have been slower to recognize the bonnes villes as worthy of attention. This neglect has been due in part to the tendancy of many of these towns to have civic administrations defined not by charter but by custom, so that their nature is rather more difficult for the historian to analyse. Then too, when compared with the turbulent history of the urban centres of the north and the Midi, the civic life of the Centre seems rather tame. Nevertheless the inquisitive and persevering researcher will find much of compelling interest as he delves into the records left by the proud and prosperous citizens of the domanial towns.

This study of Bourges, the capital of the province of Berry, is an attempt to rectify in some measure the indifference and even disdain with which the bonnes villes have undeservedly been treated.

The fact that Bourges, a town of fair prominence, has remained without a modern chronicler is doubtless due in large part to the paucity of readily accessible primary sources. This explains the slight nature of the few essays, mostly by nineteenth century antiquarians, which have attempted analyses of broader scope than specialized monographs. The vicissitudes suffered by the town records merit a brief word, since they account for the possibly uneven nature of this study.

Prior to 1487 Bourges did not have a hôtel de ville; the élus and their successors conducted municipal affairs from rented quarters,[3] after 1474 in a house on the Rue de Paradis leased from the prior of Sancoins for twenty livres tournois per annum.[4] This makeshift arrangement had a serious disadvantage, for

> esd. lieux enpruntes ou louez n'y avoit [sic] pas lieu pour la custode seurté et garde des privilèges, lectres, titres, comptes, papiers, registres, ... appartenans à la communauté de lad. ville ...[5]

The town records were stored, probably in a wooden chest,[6] in an upper chamber in the Priory of Notre Dame de la Comtal, where the public assemblies were held.[7] In 1468 the rent for this room was one hundred sous tournois.[8] This did not ensure the documents' safekeeping, however. In 1466 or 1467 many titles and privileges were lost in a fire.[9] The devastating blaze which swept through Bourges on the feast of St. Magdeleine, 1487, destroyed the Priory not sparing the chamber housing the archives.[10] Only a few records could be rescued from the flames; copies of royal privileges could be obtained,[11] but such records as the financial accounts for all but the years 1474-1475 were irretrievably lost.[12] Private records were similarly destroyed; Jacques Dubreuil, a canon at Bourges cathedral, excused his negligence in not rendering homage to the lords of Clos-Landry for his quarter of the tithes from

Montavenanges on the grounds that he had lost all his papers and titles in the fires of 1467 and 1487, and so did not realize that the tithes did not issue from the archbishopric of Bourges.[13]

The townspeople tardily realized the necessity of preserving their records in a suitable place, and consequently decided to construct a town hall, taking advantage of the availability of "plusieurs bonne place [sic] desquelles les maisons ont este bruslees par led. grant feu" which could be purchased "plus facillimans et amoindre prie."[14] The town archives were housed in the hôtel de ville until the creation of a Municipal Library in the archbishop's palace. Once again the ancient documents fell victim to flames when fire ravaged the mansion in July 1871.[15]

The misfortunes of the municipal archives resulted in great confusion as documents were carelessly tied into bales of folders and abandoned to dust and the mercies of worms and rodents. Henri Jongleux attempted to bring some order into this chaos by compiling an inventory of the records,[16] which unfortunately is highly inaccurate. During his brief tenure as municipal archivist Hippolyte Boyer laboured to give some semblance of organisation to the masses of documentation. It was not until 1922 that Jean Béreux and Charles Desages undertook a comprehensive survey of the series.[17] Their inventory remains the researcher's only useful guide to the Municipal Archives in their present form. Unfortunately this work suffers from a lack of detail in its description of the contents of each liasse, so that unless the student has the leisure to plod methodically through all the archival holdings, many important sources risk to escape his attention. Most folders contain up to a hundred documents ranging over four or five centuries, often without any apparent common subject, and usually not numbered, dated, or arranged in chronological order. Because there is little consistency in the cataloging of documents, it is very difficult to cite references which would enable the reader easily to locate the material concerned. It has been decided to sacrifice a consistency in the footnotes which could be only apparent, in the interests of the greatest specificity possible. Thus all references contain all the cataloging information noted on the folder and on the document itself. Folio numbers are given if the leaves are bound, however roughly; 'no.' is indicated if the document is placed in a stated numerical order within the folder (which is rare).

The Archives départementales du Cher are considerably better organised and more carefully preserved, but unfortunately their fonds only indirectly contain information bearing on the functioning of the municipality per se. The researcher interested in urban affairs must glean his nuggets from the masses of records left by the ecclesiastical establishments, the royal and ducal administrations, land titles, oaths of homage, law suits, wills, and so forth. These records also suffer serious lacunae. On the 13 April 1859 a fire swept through the Departmental Archives, destroying a good part of the medieval holdings. The greatest losses were the massive cartularia of the abbey of St. Sulpice,[18] the collegial church of Notre Dame de Sales,[19] the cathedral chapter of St. Etienne,[20] and the archbishopric of Bourges,[21] which could have provided a wealth of information on many aspects of life in Bourges.

The value of the inventories of the Departmental Archives is uneven; sometimes the descriptions of the contents of the côte are fully detailed, but often they are merely cursory. The listing undertaken by Boyer and Dauvois is prone to error.[22] Alfred Gandilhon later completed the inventory of the series which concern us.[23]

The vast majority of documents directly concerning Bourges have remained in the two archival repositories in the town. The Archives Nationales in Paris contain the royal household accounts as well as those of the dukes of Berry, which provide the occasional reference to Bourges; the *arrêts civils* and *accords* of the Parlement de Paris also not infrequently concern the citizens of Bourges. The Bibliothèque Nationale offers little to the student of urban life in Bourges, aside from the correspondence of Louis XI dealing with the revolt in 1474, and some collections regarding the Hundred Years War.

Thus the historian of medieval Bourges must base his researches on those manuscripts which have escaped the ravages of fire, time, and neglect. Important subjects such as the organisation of municipal government and the administration of town finances can be analysed only through extrapolation from documentation which only incidentally concerns these topics, a hazardous procedure which has resulted in much scholarly disagreement. It is very difficult to examine the development of urban lay institutions, since the bulk of the extant manuscripts date from the fifteenth and the last decades of the fourteenth centuries. Thus an institution or situation may very well considerably pre-date the first mention of it we discover.

Although this thesis has adopted for its temporal limits the years 1100 and 1474, it will be noted that the major part of the documentation cited falls into the last hundred years of our period. While this imbalance is due primarily to the paucity of earlier manuscripts for the reasons stated above, it should also be remembered that this emphasis on the later Middle Ages reflects the increasingly important role assumed by Bourges during this period, and the correspondingly greater wealth of documents concerning the town. Despite these factors it was decided not to confine this study exclusively to the heyday of Bourges, but rather to examine the fairly homogeneous urban development the town experienced as a bonne ville in the royal and ducal domains, which in turn explains the prominence it was able to assume when politics so decreed.

Finally, it should be noted that all dates follow the old style, unless otherwise noted. When transcribing from the original manuscripts standard abbreviations have been expanded to the normal usage of the complete word. Some allowance should be made for orthographic and abbreviational variants when the text quoted is drawn from copies of later centuries or from secondary sources.

Footnotes

[1] See Albert Vermeesch, *Essai sur les origines et les significations de la commune dans le nord de la France (XIe et XIIe siècles)* (Heule, 1966); Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises: caractères et évolution des origines au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1947, 1970).

[2] See Pierre-Clément Timbal, "Les villes de consulat dans le Midi de la France: histoire de leurs institutions administratives et judiciaires," *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 7 (1955): 343-370.

[3] Arch. Cher E 1358: "De tout temps et d'anncieneté, les échevins et commis au gouvernement et affaires commungs de la Ville de Bourges ont traité lesd. affaires en lieu emprunté ou loué, et n'y eut oncques lieu et hostel propre appartenant à lad. ville où en eût pu traicter lesd. affaires ... " Quoted by Edmond Jongleux, "L'Hôtel de Ville de Bourges: Etude historique," *BM* (June 1930), 213.

[4] Jean Béreux, *Notice historique* to *Les Archives Municipales de Bourges antérieures à 1790* (Bourges: M.H. Sire, 1922), iii.

[5] Arch. Cher E 1358; Jongleux, "L'Hôtel de Ville," 213.

[6] See Arch. Mun. CC 257 fol. 35 v° for a payment of 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. in the town accounts for the construction of a coffer, probably to house the new town statutes (6 July 1474).

[7] Arch. Mun. AA 1, fol. 1; DD 27 no. 1218.

[8] Arch. Cher D 263, Livre des revenus du prieuré de la Contale (1468); no. 47 "Messeigneurs les quatre comis aux gouvernement de la ville de bourges donnent audit prieur la somme de cent sols tournois ... a cause de la chambre quilz louent dudit prieur paralleles au deux vines noel saint Jehan Baptiste XX^{e} ... 100 s.t.

[9] Arch. Mun. AA 1, fol. 1; DD 3 (A 682), no. 132; see also Béreux, *Notice historique*, iii n. 4.

[10] Arch. Mun. DD 27 no. 1218. Attestation of several aged inhabitants on 18 February 1537 that "les privilleges, tiltres, actroix, comptes, papiers & enscrigmenens estans en ladicte chambre furent hors dudict feu arse et bruslez avec ladicte chambre et prieure de la contal ... "

[11] For example, Arch. Mun. AA 1; AA 2; AA 3; AA 5; AA 6.

[12] Arch. Mun. CC 257.

[13] Arch. Cher E 1721.

[14] Arch. Mun. DD 3 (A 682) no. 132 (30 September 1488): Deed for the acquisition of property of a burnt dwelling for the construction of a

hôtel de ville.

[15] Béreux, Notice historique, xxiv.

[16] Henri Jongleux, Archives de la ville de Bourges avant 1790 2 vols. (Bourges: Imprimerie A. Jollet & H. Sire, 1877).

[17] Jean Béreux and Charles Desages, Les Archives Municipales de Bourges antérieures à 1790: Répertoire numérique des séries (Bourges: M. H. Sire, 1922).

[18] Arch. Cher 4H 8. A seventeenth or eighteenth century copy of the first twenty-five leaves is preserved in Arch. Cher 4H 9. An attempt has been made to retrieve part of the cartulary from the charred remains; see Louis Buhot de Kersers, "Essai de reconstitution du Cartulaire A de Saint Sulpice de Bourges," MSAC 35 (1912), 3-296.

[19] See Arch. Cher n.a. 244 for the manuscript draft of an unpublished article by Louis Buhot de Kersers, entitled "Essai de restitution du Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Salles," together with copies of several charters from the cartulary.

[20] The fourteenth century original is classified as Arch. Cher G 2. Fortunately a complete copy was made in the eighteenth century; see Arch. Cher G 1.

[21] Arch. Cher 8G 17; 8G 18. See Alfred de Boissouldy, Le Cartulaire de l'Eglise St-Etienne de Bourges (XIIIe siècle) (Bourges: H. Sire, 4 April 1884).

[22] Hippolyte Boyer and Dauvois, Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790: Cher, 2 vols (Bourges, 1885), 2: Séries B, C, D, E.

[23] Alfred Gandilhon, Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790: Cher (Bourges, 1931), 1: Série G.

CHAPTER I

BOURGES: A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

At the turn of the eleventh century crusading fervour prompted many a petty noble to sell his landed possessions and leave the shores of France in quest of Jerusalem. The Vicomte of Bourges, Eudes Arpin,[1] was caught up in this tide of enthusiasm, but needed to raise funds to finance his expedition to the Holy Land. Arpin's impecuniosity well suited the expansionist designs of Philip I who, as the chronicler Aimon tells us, was eager to reverse the trend toward diminution of the Capetian patrimony.[2] Sometime between June 1097 and October 1103[3] a bargain was struck, and the ancient vicomté of Bourges, comprising the town and its environs, or Septaine (see Appendix A) was incorporated into the royal domain. Apparently the king paid a considerable price, although the chroniclers disagree on the amount of money which changed hands, citing figures as high as sixty thousand livres[4] and as low as six thousand sous,[5] the most likely sum being sixty thousand sous.[6]

Thus Bourges became the first Capetian acquisition beyond the Loire, the southernmost enclave of the royal domain, positioning the king at the heart of France and on the very threshold of the great fief of Aquitaine.[7] Henceforth the fortunes of the province of Haut-Berry, with its capital of Bourges, would be closely linked with those of the Crown.

In mid-October 1102 Philip I visited Bourges to take personal possession of his new acquisition,[8] and to appraise the strategic possibilities of the town as an instrument in his policy of asserting monarchical supremacy within the expanding domain. Beyond a doubt it was the administrative and military advantages offered by Bourges' central location and easily exploitable natural defenses that had stirred the Capetian's interest in the town; indeed, these factors had assured a continuous urban existence since the Celtic period.

The medieval Latin name of Bourges, variants of _Bituricas_, _Bituriges_ or _Bituris_,[9] was derived from the most powerful Celtic tribe in Gaul in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., which took the arrogant name of _Bitu Riges_, of "kings of the world."[10] The thriving Celtic stronghold became the Masada of the revolt against Roman rule led by Vercingetorix. The town recovered from the almost total massacre of its inhabitants which climaxed the prolonged Roman siege of 52 B.C.[11] to become one of the major administrative _oppida_ of Roman Gaul.

With the eclipse of governmental authority when Berry succumbed to the Wisigoth invasions, the importance of Bourges on a political and administrative level declined; however the numerous foundations of urban and suburban cloisters gave the town a new prominence as a religious centre. At the close of the ninth century when the Benedictine chronicler Adrevald of Florence was recounting the battering Berry suffered with the Norman invasions, he could justly describe Bourges as the "caput regni Aquitanici."[12] With the retreat of the French monarchs to the Ile-de-France, Berry slipped out of royal control into the hands of the petty feudality, and Bourges was left to the activities of the clergy.

Thus Bourges had a strong historical claim to being the principal urban nucleus of the Centre region of France. Philip I may not have been aware of the ancient prominence of his purchase, and indeed the town's obscurity in the backwaters of Berry in the previous century gave little cause to recall past glories. But the keen eye of the soldier and the politician must have noted the town's advantages which would enable it to regain its former strategic and administrative importance.

As the royal cavalcade approached the town it would have observed its destination from quite a distance, since Bourges is perched on a small promontory which interrupts the monotony of the surrounding plat pays, the fertile plains of Berry. At its highest point in the south-east the butte rises only about thirty-three meters above the flatlands,[13] but this dominance, however slight, does afford a rudimentary natural defense. A more formidable barrier to a besieging army was the zone of marais, or marshland, formed by the confluence of two small rivers, the Auron and the Yèvre, which flow around the west, east, and north faces of the slope. As Caesar observed,[14] this belt of treacherous bogs with its network of streamlets made a military offensive difficult on all sides save a narrow land approach to the north.

Soon, however, these marshes became as much a liability as an asset to the townsite. They were unsuitable for construction which definitively consigned certain areas to wetland agriculture and so determined the pattern of suburban development. Furthermore, stagnant waters were, and to some extent still are, responsible for creating more or less unhealthy microclimates and frequent fogs in every season.[15] As time passed the marshy zones actually expanded due to the diversions of the Yèvre and its tributaries for the construction of supplementary defense works, numerous watermills, and various agricultural operations.[16] As early as the Carolingian period extensive work was done on the watercourses; in what was probably a joint undertaking by the cloisters of St.

Sulpice, St. Ambroix, and St. Laurent, one branch of the Yèvre was diverted through the town to provide water power for the monastic mills.[17]

The Yèvrette was also of great service "aux teinturiers, tanneurs ou courroyeurs de cuire, et à nectoier les immundices de la cité."[18] But the effect of such human intervention was to increase the actual surface of the fenland while decreasing the levels in the already sluggish main channels of the Auron and the Yèvre.

It is ironic that Bourges' urban development has had to contend with such an excessively watery environment when it has been handicapped by the lack of navigable water routes. In an era when roads were made treacherous by lack of maintenance and ambushes of bandits, rivers were the most rapid and safest mode of transport. Yet the Loire River was some thirty-six kilometers distant from Bourges, and the nearest point at which the Cher passed by the townsite was about twelve kilometers away.[19] Consequently Bourges' contacts with Berry and the rest of France and Europe were dependent upon land transportation. As Charles VII noted, the fact that the town was "située et assise loing de port de mer et de grosse rivière ou fleuves portant grant navire" was long detrimental to its economic prosperity.[20] Bourges' landlocked location was a major objection put forward by the Lyonnais when the Berruyers were lobbying in 1484 to have the famous fairs of Lyon transferred to their capital.[21] Efforts were made at various times to render navigable the Auron and the Yèvre; in 1467 Louis XI ordered that part of the royal aides raised in the town be devoted to this purpose,[22] and from 1489 on experts studied the channels of the Yèvre and the Cher, but these projects to alleviate the problem had little success.[23] The Auron and the Yèvre were exploitable for wetland cultivation and for water power for the grain and cloth mills, but could not serve for commercial contact with the outside world.

From this geographical description of Bourges, let us turn to the state of urban development when the town entered the royal domain. The early medieval town was perched on the highest part of the promontory. This civitas or cité (as it will henceforth be designated) was enclosed by a continuous system of walls in an approximately ovoid shape, which was to determine the pattern of future development.

The Gallo-Roman walls, as they are commonly called, constituted a formidable defense system, with stout stone walls bristling with forty-six towers encircling a surface area of twenty-six hectares.[24] Four gates pierced the ramparts: the Porte de Lyon opened onto the southern route to Autun, the road north to Orléans left from the Porte St. André (or Porte Neuve), the Porte Tournoise (or Ornoise or Utronis) faced west toward Tours, and the Porte Gordaine provided the exit east toward Saint-Satur. The castrum, the ultimate stronghold surrounded by deep ditches, was a considerable distance outside the walls to the southeast, in what later became Château-lès-Bourges, the bourg surrounding the monastery at St. Aoustrille.[25] It is likely that the Gallo-Roman walls were fairly intact at the end of the eleventh century, despite the battering they must have sustained in such a turbulent era, and the evident inclination of the townspeople to build upon the walls.[26]

All the major buildings were religious, which gave the cité a markedly clerical air common to medieval towns. Besides the cathedral of St. Etienne, at least seven churches served the population within the Gallo-Roman walls. St. Hyppolyte enjoyed the distinction of being the first religious foundation in Bourges.[27] St. Aoustrillet, the daughter church of St. Aoustrille-du-Château, provided a refuge for the chapter's canons within the walls in troubled times.[28] There were also chapters of canons in the collegial churches of Notre Dame de la Comtal (or Contal), St. Jean le Viel, Notre Dame de Montermoyen, St. Pierre le Puellier and Notre Dame de Sales (or Salles). Notre Dame du Fourchaud (or Fichaud) was the largest and probably the oldest parish church in Bourges, although no documentation is extant prior to 1200.[29] This concentration of churches within such a small area was probably less an indication of the size of the population than of the religious prominence which the diocese of Bourges was assuming.

There does seem to have been a certain amount of open space within the cité; land deeds occasionally mention casales, or farms, within the walls,[30] and in 1172 there was at least one lot free for construction in front of the cathedral,[31] an area which one would normally expect to be congested. Nevertheless the circuit of Gallo-Roman walls proved too constrictive to encompass the inevitable urban expansion, and as early as the ninth century suburban communities began to spring up in the shadow of the cité.

These burgi[32] were to be highly significant in Bourges' history, creating a phenomenon of "topographischen Pluralismus."[33] The lack of topographic unity represented by the faubourgs signalled a lack of administrative unity which proved detrimental to the development of municipal institutions. For the salient point about these extramural communities is that without exception each had as its nucleus a religious foundation. There is some dispute as to whether these suburban agglomerations formed around pre-existent churches, as Robert Latouche argues, or whether some such as St. Martin-des-Brives and St. Ambroix had some colonisation before the foundation of the cloisters, as Dietrich Claude suggests.[34] It is impossible to pronounce upon such an issue. What remains important is that as early as the sixth and seventh centuries there was a marked tendency to found religious establishments extra muros. In addition to the cloisters dating from late antiquity, Ste. Croix and St. Aoustrille-du-Château, the Merovingian period saw the construction of at least two suburban churches (St. Hilaire and St. Paul), and the cloisters of St. Sulpice, St. Ursin, St. Martin, and possibly St. Ambroix.[35] The monastery of St. Laurent also was probably founded well before it was first mentioned in a document of 1158.[36]

Overcrowding was probably one reason for constructing outside the protection of the defenseworks of the cité, but the necessity of large properties to support the foundations as well as the desire for independence from lay authorities doubtless were the deciding factors. For as we shall see later in greater detail, these faubourgs were subject to the autonomous rule of their ecclesiastical lords. This fact alone would suggest that, whether or not there was some degree of previous colonisation, the predominant factor in the creation of the burgi was the foundation of the cloisters. What would induce the inhabitants to leave the security of the cité for the more precarious life in the ecclesiastical suburbs? The desire to escape the dominion of lay authorities may have been a factor, but monasteries were notoriously exigent landlords. Economic benefit doubtless was the major attraction; the large estates of the cloisters required labourers, and they in turn required goods and services. Then too, there was the possibility of cultivating one's own plot of land, a difficult enterprise at best in the congested cité.

The faubourg lying between the wealthy abbey of St. Sulpice and the Porte Neuve was to become the most powerful and arrogantly independent of these extra mural communities. By the twelfth century it had swollen to embrace the entire northern and half of the western side of the cité, stretching from the Porte Gordaine to the Porte d'Auron, and covering the extensive area between the walls and the Yèvrette, the Yèvre, and the Auron.

The bourg St. Ursin was on the opposite side of the cité, huddled close to the walls below the cathedral.[37] It covered a smaller area than the bourg St. Sulpice, but it did have a significant population and possessed equally important privileges of autonomy.

St. Ambroix was situated at a considerable ~~distance~~ north of the cité, and consequently was vulnerable to attack by such marauders as the Normans who completely destroyed the establishment about 750.[38] This isolated location nevertheless did not hinder the rapid growth of a bourg, once the cloister was restored by Vicomte Geoffrey the Noble in 1012.[39] Philip I's charter confirming the Augustinian canons' privileges contained provisions in the expectation of further settlement.[40]

Thus when Philip I assumed the lordship of Bourges, a pattern of cellular urban development had already been established which he and his successors made no effort to alter. While as sovereign his dominion extended over the royal domain, in actual fact he or his officers could exercise direct authority over only the core of the town; the more dynamic and rapidly expanded quartiers on the periphery almost completely escaped royal control. This anomalous situation caused endless difficulties, and so will be a major theme of this study.

Philip I (r. 1060-1108) was nearing the end of his long reign, and did little more than ensure a smooth transfer of lordship;[41] it was left to his successors to exploit the potential of this important addition to the

Capetian patrimony. The strategy of Louis VI the Fat (r. 1108-1137) was to start to create a real rather than a nominal authority for the monarchy by concentrating its energies on asserting an effective lordship within the royal domain.[42] To this end he waged incessant campaigns to quell the unruly feudal nobility. Bourges not infrequently served as headquarters for these punitive expeditions.[43] Luchaire suggests that the silence of the chroniclers permits one to suppose that the king's domination of Bourges, together with his intimate relations with the Church in Berry, assured him the sympathy and support of the local inhabitants.[44]

During his endless journeys throughout his domain Louis VI stayed quite frequently at Bourges, where he enjoyed the right of gîte, or hospitality. Doubtless it was during one of these sojourns that, at the request of the clergy and people sponsored by Archbishop Vulgrin, he issued a charter clarifying some consuetudines and restricting the activities of some of his officials.[45] Louis the Fat's reputation as the father of urban liberties has become rather dubious;[46] although this charter no longer exists it is clear that its tenor, far from 'emancipating' the citizens of Bourges, was intent on defining and hence tightening royal control of the town. This seems to have been the usual pattern for towns in the royal domain.[47] It became standard practice for each newly crowned monarch to confirm these customs and privileges, adding to and modifying the terms.

The political circumstances of the eventful reign of Louis VII (r. 1137-1180) caused the strategic value of Bourges to be more fully realized. The Berrichon capital became one of the most favoured and active towns of the royal domain. Bourges was one of Louis' preferred places of residence; diplomatic sources cite the king's presence there at least eighteen times during his reign.[48]

The royal visit in December 1137 was the occasion of a sumptuous ceremony. As Orderic Vitalis describes it,

> . . . Ludovicus juvenis rex Francorum apud Bituricam in Natali Domini coronatus est, ibique ingens curia nobilium et mediocrum virorum de omni Gallia et Aquitania, aliisque circumsitis nationibus aggregata est. Illuc metropolitani, praesules eorumque suffraganei convenerunt, illuc consules aliaeque dignitates confluxerunt suumque famulatum novo regi exhiberunt.[49]

The fact that this "crowning" took place in the year in which Louis VII ascended the throne in his own right (having heretofore been king in association with his father, as was the early Capetian custom) has led some authors to mistake it for an actual coronation.[50] Rather this was a curia coronata, a "crowned court," a custom dating back to the reign of Hugh Capet, in which the crown was ceremoniously placed upon the king's head each time he convoked a general court to celebrate the major religious feasts of the year.[51] Thus the king took advantage of the Christmastide to receive in regal splendour the homage of his vassals who flocked to Bourges. Another solemn crown-wearing ceremony took place in Bourges at the Christmas court of 1145.[52] Here again the town was chosen as the site of an important conference, this time to discuss Louis VII's plans for his Crusade.

The frequency of these visits of the royal entourage necessitated some type of suitable permanent residence. The earliest indication we have of such a building is two letters from about 1148 dealing with the royal tribunal of justice held "in palatio domini Regis apud Bituricas."[53] An act of 1158 in favour of the chapel of St. Jean le Viel describes it as being located in front of the royal palace.[54] This then indicates that the primitive residence was situated on the site of the elaborate palace constructed in the fourteenth century by John Duke of Berry, and of the present Préfecture du Cher. The fortress was apparently a formidable tower set into the Gallo-Roman walls, with its own ditches on the side facing the interior of the cité[55] for defence in case of an attack from within.

This was not an unwarranted precaution, for in 1147-1149 zealous opponents of Suger's regency strove to foment rebellion among the citizens of Bourges. The issue originated in 1143 when Louis VII quarrelled with Innocent II over the vacant See of Bourges. The pope wished Pierre de la Châtre to be elected whereas the king presented as his candidate his chancellor Cadurc.[56] This highly favoured Berrichon cleric had contrived to be endowed with a large number of influential benefices in Orléanais and Berry; in Bourges alone he was a canon of St. Etienne, prior of the chapter of St. Ursin, abbot of St. Sulpice, and dean of the chapter of Montermoyen.[57] After an acrimonious dispute Pierre was elected to the See. Once Louis had departed for the Holy Land in 1147 the disappointed candidate used his accumulation of offices to attempt to carve out a power bloc for himself in Berry. As soon as Suger and Raoul de Vermandois assumed the regency brigandage and revolt erupted across the realm.[58] The king's brother Robert Count of Dreux returned from the Crusade to conspire with Rotrou Count of Perche, Agnès of Savoy (wife of Archambaud II de Sully, Count of Bourbon), Cadurc and the perpetual troublemaker Raoul of Vermandois,[59] who seems to have deftly played both sides to his advantage.

Cadurc, in conjunction with the prévôts of Bourges, managed to seize the principal stronghold of the town, the "turrim Bituricensem," which he steadfastly refused to surrender to the forces of Guy de Rebrechien, the emissary of Suger.[60] The Countess of Bourbon was trying to incite the nobility and bourgeois of Bourges to revolt.[61] The beleaguered Cadurc urged the Count of Perche to persuade Raoul to send him an order that he should deliver the tower of Bourges to none but himself or his men, as Cadurc was obligated to do by oath. Should Raoul do this, Cadurc assured him, the town would be his.[62] After considerable difficulty Suger managed to foil the plot, regaining possession of the tower and arraigning the culprits before a special tribunal convened at Paris.[63]

It is impossible to ascertain the amount of support the conspirators won among the inhabitants of Bourges. It is likely, however, that it was not considerable, since the town had little reason to complain of the paternalistic rule of its royal lord. Only four years before Louis VII had confirmed the town's customs and privileges granted by his father, while reforming a number of abuses of his local officer,[64] and on other occasions he had lent a sympathetic ear to the inhabitants' complaints. In particular the king curried favour with the powerful religious establishments in Bourges; St. Etienne, St. Aoustrillet, St. Sulpice, St. Aoustrille-du-Château, Notre Dame de Sales, St. Laurent, St. Martin, St. Ursin and its _Hôtel-Dieu_, and the leper hospital of St. Lazare all were the beneficiaries of Louis' munificence and received important confirmations and extensions of their privileges. While this policy may have helped ensure the Berrichon clergy's loyalty to the Crown, it also had the effect of reinforcing the pattern of cellular urban development and particular jurisdictions, thereby rendering ineffective the authority of the royal officials over much of the town.

The number of the king's sojourns in Bourges noticeably increased in the last three decades of his reign. This is a reflection of the town's enhanced strategic importance in the recurrent sparring matches between the Capetian and his Angevin rival Henry II. When Louis VII divorced his wife Eleanor in 1152, she promptly brought her inheritance, the duchy of Aquitaine, to her new spouse, Henry Plantagenet. The couple's ascension to the throne of England shortly thereafter had a radical effect on the feudal geography of France. Bas-Berry now moved into the Angevin orbit,[65] so that Bourges was a vital Capetian stronghold on the very doorstep of a puissant and hostile principality.

As one element in his policy of expanding his already immense duchy, Henry II sought to extend his direct lordship over all the feudality of Berry, a clear encroachment on the Capetian domain. In 1170 the Duke of Aquitaine on a flimsy pretext claimed all territories included in the vast diocese of Bourges.[66] Naturally the French king flatly rejected the Angevin's pretensions, and amid this "gravi discordia" both sides assembled armies.[67]

As Benedict of Peterborough narrates,

> Et rex Angliae secum suum ducens exercitum, circa festa Sancti Clementi [i.e., about 23 November 1170] venit in Berria usque ad Munt Luszan, volens ulterius procedere usque Bituricensem civitatem; ipse enim jam securus esse sperebat de civitate ille habenda, per homines civitatis illius qui eam illi reddere volebant.[68]

Had Henry in fact contrived to create a partisan faction within the town eager to open its gates to him, as this account suggests? Perhaps these "homines civitatis" were Plantagenet agents who stirred up malcontents. Probably there were those who chaffed under the strict Capetian rule, but undoubtedly the majority of the population remained loyal to the French Crown, or at the worst indifferent to the outcome of the conflict. This conclusion is supported by the fact that there is no record of any punitive measures against the citizens of Bourges, who continued to enjoy Louis VII's favour until the end of his reign.

The outcome of this episode was a truce concluded between the two rivals after the French king had marched into Berry with an army, and the Angevin forces retired into Normandy.[69] But Bourges figured again in the renewal of hostilities in 1177, when the English monarch claimed the town and its dependencies as part of the dowry of Alix, the Capetian fiancée of his son Richard.[70]

As it happened, Henry's sword-rattling turned out to be an offensive merely on the diplomatic front, which Louis successfully deployed. But these recurrent threats to Bourges' security had served to draw attention to the inadequacy of the town's defences. All of the rapidly developing faubourgs lay outside the Gallo-Roman walls and so were vulnerable to attack and difficult to defend. Consequently an enormous project was undertaken to encircle the expanding town with a new system of defenses.

The resulting circuit of walls is commonly know as the enceinte of Philip Augustus (r. 1180-1223). However, several historians have pointed out that this appellation is probably erroneous, and that at least the inception of the walls should instead be attributed to Louis VII.[71] This supposition is borne out by a decree of Philip Augustus in 1181, the year after he ascended the throne, stating in part: "Addimus etiam et praecipimus, ut quicumque juxta murum, vel supra murum Bituricae civitatis aedificare voluerit domum, et aliud sine muri pejoratione, ei liceat aedificare."[72] If the king was expressly permitting construction upon the old walls, which was likely to diminish their military value, it is more than probable that the new fortifications had been completed. Philip Augustus was still careful that the cité walls be preserved intact as a second line of defence, imposing a fine of sixty sous plus the labour of repair on anyone judged guilty of damaging the walls.[73]

The new defences made Bourges one of the principal fortified towns of Capetian France. An area of about 115 hectares was now encompassed by about 4,100 meters of stout walls,[74] interrupted by some forty semi-engaged towers, four principal gates and a multitude of smaller fausse-portes and posterns. The principal stronghold was the Grosse Tour, a redoubtable donjon erected on the southeast summit of the promontory, where its thirty-eight meter height dominated the town and the plat pays below.

It would seem that the original plan left the abbeys and suburbs of St. Ambroix and St. Laurent outside the walls, yet Nicolai's map drawn in 1567 shows the monastic lands lying within the ramparts. Labbe started a tradition which has been generally adopted that these bourgs were enclosed by their own wall, the "rempart des Pauvres," which was constructed at the shared expense of the inhabitants of the suburbs and of the cloisters concerned.[75]

Despite the greatly extended length of the fortifications, a considerable part of the suburban settlement still was unprotected, namely the faubourgs of St. Privé, St. Martin-des-Brives, St. Aoustrille-du-Château, and St. Sulpice. The latter omission is surprising since already the bourg had a sizeable population. However, the monastic suburb probably preferred the risks of remaining extramural to the prospect of gradually merging into the rest of the town and losing its cherished autonomy once it was included within the municipal defenses. As for the other faubourgs, they were still isolated pockets of settlement separated from the main urban centre by fields, vineyards, and marshlands.

With the cession of Bas-Berry by King John of England in 1200, Capetian control of the province was assured. On the other hand, throughout the thirteenth century the Midi continued to pose a challenge to the Crown. Bourges' central location on the primary routes to the Midi caused the town to become a springboard for the North's offensive against the South, in particular the Albigensian crusades of 1226 and 1240.[76]

The bourgeois of Bourges gained renown in the chronicles for their initiative in thwarting the Pastoureaux, or Shepherd Crusaders, who in 1251 "avoient tout le pays infantosmé par leur enchantementz."[77] The charismatic apostle of this movement was Job, the "Master of Hungary." Brandishing a "letter" from the Virgin Mary, he declared that it was divine will that humble shepherds, and not arrogant French knights, should deliver the captive Louis IX from the Saracen infidels.[78] His inflammatory eloquence quickly attracted a fanatical following which the chroniclers estimated at sixty thousand,[79] undoubtedly an exaggerated number but indicative of the allure of Job's appeals. The throngs, swollen by all sorts of heavily armed criminals and miscreants, or "ribaldos"[80] descended on Paris. The regent Blanche of Castile was seduced by their zeal, foolishly hoping that they would indeed deliver her son,[81] but it quickly became evident that her trust was misplaced, as civil anarchy erupted. In blistering attacks on the clergy whom he described as avaricious hypocrites,[82] Job incited his followers to "occire prestres et clers quanqu'il porroient trouver."[83] When the Pastoureaux finally were expelled from Paris, they marched on Orléans where they despoiled the clergy, eommitted sacrilegious acts, and attacked the university.[84] Since the hordes were now so great that no town was large enough to shelter them, they split off into three groups,[85] the largest of which descended on Berry.

The notoriety of the marauders had spread widely, and the clergy of Bourges quaked at their imminent arrival:

> Quant les clers de Bourges sorent la venue de tel gent, si se doutèrent quar l'en leur avoit bien raconté qu'il fesoient assez de maus. Si alèrent parler à la justice et à ceus qui devoient la ville garder, et leur distrent que telle esmeute et tèle alée d'enfanz et de pastouriaus estoit trouvée par grant malice, et par art de deable et par enchantement; et se il vouloient mètre pain, il prendroient les mestres des pastoriaus touz prouvez en mavaistié et en cas de larrecin. Le prévost et le bailli s'accordèrent à ce que cil leur disoient, et furent touz avisez de la besongne.[86]

Having thus alerted the royal authorities, the clergy to a man fled the town.[87] The populace did not heed these warnings, however, and despite the prohibition of the archbishop, Philippe Berruyer, they opened the gates of the city to the Pastoureaux. The hordes poured into Bourges until the walls could contain no more, whereupon the rest camped outside the cité in the marshes and vineyards or spread out into Berry.[88]

At first the townspeople listened with rapt attention to Job's anticlerical preaching,[89] but they soon lost their patience when the Pastoureaux abused their hospitality with larceny, murder, and sacrilege. The chronicler of St. Denis reports that the breaking point came when the pillagers "prindrent les jeunes dames et pucelles, et les vodrent couchier avoec eus."[90] Primat gives a slightly different version; the Pastoureaux incurred public enmity when they attacked the Jews:

> [le] grant multitude ... se commencièrent cruelment à forsener contre les Juis, et despeçoient leur livres, et ravissoient la peccune et les henas d'argent d'iceues. Et donc quant le commun de la ville vit ceste chose, et que il destruioient en tel manière les Juis, qui estoient en la garde du roy, il firent clorre les portes de la cité pour vengier l'injure du roy faicte aus Juis; mès ceulz froisoirent les sereures des portes et les verrous à congniées, et issirent aus champ ... [91]

The by now thoroughly riled bourgeois of Bourges pursued on horseback the fleeing 'crusaders' as far as Villeneuve-sur-Cher.[92] In the ensuing melée the Master of Hungary met an ignominious end at the hands of a brawny butcher from Bourges.[93] The death of their spell-binding prophet disillusioned most of the Pastoureaux, although disconsolate bands were rumoured to be wandering through France, England, and the Holy Land.[94] Nonetheless, the bourgeois of Bourges must be credited with having dealt the first and most telling blow against the Shepherds' Crusade.

The people of Bourges were still reeling from their adventure with mystical anarchism when another catastrophe struck: fire. It was extremely difficult to contain blazes in congested medieval towns constructed primarily of wood, and devastating fires were all too frequent occurrences. Jean Chenu claims that the fire of the Vigil of St. John the Baptist in 1252 was so calamitous that only one house and the cathedral were left standing.[95] An inquest ordered by Blanche of Castile provides evidence that the devastation was not as total as Chenu would have it, but it should be remembered that the reports from only four parishes are extant. The parish of St. Médard reported that 165 houses and cottages were destroyed and thirteen more were rendered uninhabitable; only fourteen were in a condition to be rebuilt and four residents of the parish declared themselves incapable of rendering "talliam seu servicium domino regi," a surprisingly small number but undoubtedly others were also unable to pay. In the parish of St. Pierre le Marché 167 domiciles were burnt, eighty-four of them beyond repair. The parish of St. Pierre le Guillard was only slightly less damaged, with fifty-six houses burnt, of which only eight could be reconstructed. St. Pierre's oven was also destroyed, as well as the chapel in Ste. Croix. The abbot of St. Ambroix reported major losses in the parish of St. Pierre le Fourchaud, where his monastery owned many properties.[96]

Clearly a massive reconstruction of the town was necessary, and suffering must have been widespread. In what was perhaps a display of the last dregs of anticlerical furor whipped up by the Pastoureaux, a mob of townspeople vented its frustration by attacking the palace of Archbishop Philippe Berruyer who, it will be remembered, had vigorously opposed the entry of the 'Crusaders' into the town. The prelate and his guest, the papal legate Aubert, were assailed by a hail of stones. Louis IX reacted swiftly to this "insultum . . . magnum":

> Aliquanto tempore in prisoniis domini regis manentibus, et omnes liberati fuerunt hoc modo, quod ipsi et omnes alii de Bituricensi civitate, qui in ea [die] qua insultus factus fuit erant apud Bituricum gagiabunt emendam, ad voluntatem domini regis; . . . .[97]

Once an inquiry had been made into the degree of guilt of each culprit, the matter was brought before the royal concilium in February 1254, where a stiff fine of three hundred livres was imposed upon the bourgeois of Bourges, a number of whom were held in custody as security for the sum.[98] The severity of the punishment is indicative not only of the pious king's desire to avenge the attack on such eminent ecclesiastics, but also of the strict control the monarchy was determined to exert over the town.

The next three decades were quiet for Bourges on the political front as the citizens busied themselves rebuilding their town. Popular interest probably focussed upon the magnificent cathedral of St. Etienne, which was nearing completion after two separate stages of construction from 1195 to 1214 and from 1225 to 1255.[99] A masterpiece of Gothic architecture in its first vigour, St. Etienne was symbolic of the power of the Primate of Bourges, and at the same time must have had no little effect in nurturing civic pride. The very fact that this influential cathedral in the Centre, once the metropole of Aquitaine, should adhere to the architectural movement associated with the Ile-de-France has been seen as a symbol of the control the Capetians had over Berry.[100]

Seen from afar, the great mass of the cathedral dominates the plains of Berry from the summit of Bourges' promontory, with the town spreading down the lower slopes. The massive physical presence of St. Etienne echoes its preponderate influence in many aspects of life in the medieval town. The cathedral was the spiritual heart of Bourges, yet it was a world apart from the bustling secular life surrounding it.

This fundamental disjunction was impressed upon every citizen of Bourges by the circuit of walls enclosing the cloister which effectively segregated the cathedral community from the rest of the population. The wall started at the Archbishop's Palace, and followed the Rue Moyenne and the Rue du Four until it rejoined the cité walls on the north side of the cathedral. In 1174 Louis VII had accorded the dean and chapter the privilege of erecting this fortified wall: ". . . concessimus ut eius claustrum et totius claustri ambitus muro cingatur muniatur et infortietur tam supra muros civitatis quam supra et circa domos canonicorum beati Stephani . . . ."[101] Although the proviso was made that Louis' successors could order that the wall be destroyed, that right was never exercised, and it was the consistent policy of the French monarchs to protect from lay jurisdiction the cathedral chapter's autonomy symbolised by the wall. The dean and canons of St. Etienne frequently appealed directly to the king to protect their inviolate rights, and received action.[102]

Entry into the cloister was provided for by six gateways, whose traces may still be seen in places. The most imposing entry was the gilded gate at the top of the street which is still called Rue Porte Jaune, through which the archbishops in Bourges made their solemn entries to take possession of their see.[103] Within the cloister were some twenty-six houses in the twelfth century, all of them property of the chapter. This included the residences of the archbishop, the dean, the canons and the chapter servants; a judgement rendered in 1313 also referred to a house belonging to the Templars within the cloister.[104] The chapter had its own storehouses, wells, ovens, and prison, thus forming a community which functioned virtually independently of the town outside the walls.

The Crown did its local officers a great disservice in thus encouraging and protecting this island of impenetrable ecclesiastical autonomy in the very heart of their jurisdiction; constant and bitter conflicts were the inevitable result.

Despite the calamity of fire the town continued to expand outwards. Another faubourg grew up to the south-east between St. Aoustrille-du-Château and the cité, which a document of 1262 refers to as the "burgus novus."[105] The new area of settlement developed into the faubourg of Bourbonneau, one of the four principal quartiers of Bourges. Despite the growth of this and other faubourgs, many areas of the town still had a markedly rural air; parishes such as St. Fulgent between the two wall circuits on the western side still had extensive areas under cultivation and had a population of largely agricultural workers.[106]

By November 1283 Bourges had sufficiently recovered from the fire to host a major assembly of barons and prelates summoned by Philip III the Bold (r. 1270-1285) to discuss the thorny issue of Aragon. Two years later the people of Bourges witnessed the sad dénouement to this bellicose assembly when the casket of Philip III rested a short while in the town en route to Paris from the foolish adventure in Aragon.[107]

During the turbulent reign of Philip IV the Fair (r. 1285-1314) the citizens of Bourges tasted the excitement of international politics. Throughout the king's protracted and bitter conflict with Pope Boniface VIII, he was careful to foster popular support for his cause through skilful propaganda and direct appeals to the people. When Boniface called a council in Rome to discuss the reformation of France, the king retaliated by calling for a general council to pronounce on the accusations of heresy brought against the Roman pontiff. Philip the Fair dispatched missives and emissaries throughout his realm to elicit the support of the clergy, nobility, and the towns.[108] From the fourth to the sixth of August, 1303, the royal envoy Jean d'Auxy visited Bourges to elucidate the king's position for the clergy and citizens. On Monday, August 5th at three o'clock, the laity of Bourges assembled in a "magna multitudine" to listen to the emissary's proclamation of the king's letters. They voted "omnes voce concordi et clamore, nemine contradicente" to give their unqualified support to a council should it be called.[109] This positive response to the king's appeal was not necessarily a foregone conclusion, since the Archbishop of Bourges at the time was Gilles of Rome, the most prominent publicist of the papal party.[110] The bourgeois of Bourges however were not likely to be unduly influenced by Gilles' example; his personal impact on the town was minimal since he had returned to Rome only a few months after his investiture in 1295.[111] The cathedral chapter and all the other major ecclesiastical foundations of the town were also persuaded to adhere to the convocation of a council.[112]

A general council became unnecessary with the infamous incident at Anagni, but the people of Bourges were soon given another opportunity to participate in affairs of national import, this time in a more direct manner. Frustrated in his attempts to pressure the papacy into abolishing the Order of the Templars, Philip IV resolved to call an Estates General to gain its support for his project. The towns of the kingdom were commanded to send two delegates to the assembly at Tours. On 29 April 1308 the citizens of Bourges were assembled by the royal prévôt to consider their response to the royal summons. After registering their confidence in the "motum sanctissimum nostri domini principis," the bourgeois selected two prominent citizens as their representatives.[113]

Bourges' links with the South had been reinforced by the important acquisitions of properties in the Midi made by the French monarchs since Louis IX; as a consequence of the new relations with the Crown thus created the Berrichon capital had enjoyed increasing political importance.[114] However, the town's location in the centre of France also made it an access point to the North. In March 1316 Louis X (r. 1314-1316) convoked an assembly of the Estates General at Bourges to discuss the continuation of the war in the County of Flanders; the town was also the point of rendezvous for the troops destined for that conflict.[115] The Flemish problem was constantly brought to the attention of the townspeople; in 1317 Philip V the Long (r. 1316-1322) called an assembly at Bourges of delegates from the bonnes villes of the kingdom from whom he demanded war subsidies. In November 1318 the king addressed his monetary requests to the nobles of Berry, gathered in Bourges.[116] The population of the province must have grown heartily weary of these constant demands for money; already in 1304 nobles and commons alike had contributed 8349 l. 7 s. 3 d. in a hearth tax for the war effort in

Flanders, doubtless only one of many such exactions.[117]

As well as citing their ancient privileges in protesting these latest war taxes, the inhabitants of Bourges justified their inability to pay by describing a long drought which had stricken Berry in 1318:

> ... la ville et la Septene et tout li communs a esté et est si poures et si domagez tant pour l'aspreté dieu temps, pour le deffaut des bles, des vignes, qui a duré longuement, et la morue des bestes, que pour aides que il hont faist, et de grace, ou temps passé pour les besoignes du roy et dou realme ...[118]

Of course a litany of like complaints may be found in any remonstrance against taxation, whatever the epoch. Nonetheless it is well to remember that the prosperity of Bourges was based upon that of the agricultural area of which it was a market centre and consequently agrarian hardships had a direct impact upon the townspeople, many of whom cultivated their own plots of land and vineyards. Despite the probable element of exaggeration, this doleful description does give an impression of a weakened economy in Berry on the eve of the Hundred Years War.

Like all of France, Berry and its capital suffered greatly during the epic struggle between the Valois and the Plantagenet dynasties. Yet, paradoxically, the Hundred Years War was responsible for Bourges attaining its apogee in national importance.

Once again war brought demands for monetary subsidies. In 1349 the nobles and bourgeois in the bailliage of Bourges contributed some 8,900 livres parisis towards the equipping of five hundred men at arms for the royal army.[119] In the wake of France's disastrous defeat at Crécy, it was feared that the English enemy would strike into the very heart of France. In 1349 the king granted to the inhabitants of Bourges eight arpents of wood to the value of two hundred livres tournois to be taken from the royal forests at Hautebrune "pour tourner et amendir en la reparation des bresches ... & eschauffaux aux portes de la dite ville ... "[120]

These precautions proved to be timely. In May 1346 John Count of Poitiers and third living son of John II the Good (r. 1350-1364) established his general headquarters in Bourges preparatory to his campaign in Languedoc. By May 23 the Marshals of France had arrived in the town which was thronged with troops. In August the Black Prince penetrated into Berry, investing Bourges with two thousand men at arms and six thousand archers.[121] As Froissart recounts the siege,

> Ensi chavauçoient li Englès, ardant et essillant tout le pays devant yaus, et fisent tant que il vinrent assés priès de le bonne cité de Bourges, où li arcevesques dou dit lieu pour le temps estoit, et doi chevalier envoyet de par le roy de France, pour entendre à le cité se il besongnoit, et oil voir, car li Englès l'approcièrent de si priès qu'il en ardirent les fourbours. Et y eut une grande escarmuce à l'une des portes ... Et y eut ce jour, et l'escarmuce durant, faite tamainte belle apertise d'armes. Si s'en partirent li Englès sans aultre chose faire, et passèrent aultre et vinrent à Yzodun en Berri ... [122]

It was probably the extramural faubourg of St. Sulpice which was burnt by the English, since they did not succeed in penetrating the walls.

But if the English attack on Bourges came to naught, their subsequent victory at Poitiers was unqualified, the prime war prize being the king of France himself. The Treaty of Brétigny, concluded the 8 May 1360, set the ransom for John II at three million _écus_, payable in six annual installments.[123] As security for the payment of the outstanding debt, the treaty stipulated that forty great nobles and forty-two bourgeois from the _bonnes villes_ of the realm be sent to London. Paris was obliged to provide four hostages; Bourges was among the nineteen principal towns in the provinces designated to send two.[124] The inclusion of Bourges indicates how the town had developed to a recognized major status; however, this proved to be an expensive honour since the towns were obligated to furnish funds for the expenses of the hostages' journeys to and from England as well as of their sojourn there. In general this amounted to eight hundred livres per annum for the representatives of each town.[125] Minor communities in the surrounding pays were expected to contribute toward these expenses.

The first hostages selected by the inhabitants of Bourges were Jean Leroy and Jean Palard; when their stipulated term of captivity had expired in one year, they were replaced by Renaud Fournier, the royal procurator at Bourges, and Pierre de Chateauneuf.[126] These latter departed for England in March 1362, but were not freed until 12 February 1365.[127] Upon their return, the hostages charged that this unduly long term of captivity was due to the neglect of the inhabitants of St. Pierre-le-Moutier, who had shirked their responsibility of paying one hundred livres tournois towards the expenses of the Berrichon representatives. For lack of these funds the bourgeois could not afford the journey home.[128] Apparently this situation was not uncommon, since the subsidies from the various towns in France frequently arrived at irregular intervals. An interesting aspect of this case is that the plaintiffs filed their suit with the Parlement of Paris in their quality as private individuals; they received support neither from the advocate of the king nor from their home town of Bourges.[129] The payment of the maintenance subsidies still continued to fall into arrears; on 29 February 1376 the people of Bourges were party to an agreement before the Parlement of Paris for the payment of the living costs of their hostages Jean Supizet and Louis Boisratier.[130] In addition to this financial burden, Bourges still had to contribute towards the massive ransom of

John II; in February 1347 an aide on livestock was farmed out to help make up the town's and Septaine's portion of the required sum.[131]

Another clause in the Treaty of Brétigny was to prove of greater consequence for the inhabitants of Bourges: John, the second prince of the fleur de lys, and a hostage himself, was required to surrender his fief, the County of Poitiers.[132] In compensation for his son's losses, John the Good, in letters patent of October 1360, created John a Peer of France (Pares Franciae) and erected the comtés of Berry and Auvergne into duchies.[133]

On a previous occasion Bourges had been part of the private domain of a prince of the blood; Philip V before his ascension to the throne had borne the title of comte palatin of Bourges and Poitiers.[134] In August 1353 John II had made a solemn promise to the people of Bourges that they would never be separated from the immediate royal domain:

> Nos, debita consideratione pensantes sincere dilectionis affectum, quem Cives, Burgenses, habitatores & incole Civitatis, Ville, Suburbiorum & Sectene [sic] Bituricensis, abolim habuisse noscuntur ad honorem & statum felicem Regni & Corone Francie, docente pluries experientia per effectum, Nos propterea Civitatem, Cives, Burgenses, habitatores & incolas predictos, speciali benevolentia prosequentes, ad manus, jus & Domanium immediatum nostrum Regum & Corone Francie . . . prout ab antiquis temporibus fuisse noscuntur, retinemus . . .[135]

This promise was conveniently ignored when raison d'état so decreed, and for the next fifty-six years Bourges was to form an integral part of a princely apanage. Henceforth John of Berry would be the dominant personality of Bourges, his flamboyance lending unaccustomed colour and excitement to the town.

John did not assume the government of his apanage until his provisional release from captivity in London in January, 1366; his formal liberation was still being negotiated when hostilities resumed in 1369.[136]

The new lord of Bourges was one of the principal commanders responsible for the conduct of the war; the capital of the duchy soon resembled more a military encampment than a provincial market town. Bourges was the assembly point for the campaigns in Berry and the Auvergne in 1371, 1372, and 1373;[137] in November 1373 the dukes of Berry and Burgundy met with their brother Louis of Anjou in Bourges to discuss war strategy.[138]

The Duke's reinforced companies for the protection of Berry and the Auvergne were only marginally effective in stemming the depredations of the *écorcheurs.* These itinerant bands of unemployed soldiers and deserters had been troubling Bourges for some time. Geoffrey of Paris relates that in 1312 after the signing of the Treaty of Ponthieu had caused a lull in the war in Flanders, disbanded companies of unpaid soldiers drifted back to France, pillaging along their route. A good number made their final stop in Bourges: " ... bien V.C là en pendirent: / Les gibbez en furent touz plains; ... "[139] doubtless much to the gratification of the long-suffering Berrichon population. One cannot give much credence to Geoffrey's statistic of five hundred brigands, but it does indicate the size of this perplexing problem. In 1362 the dioceses of Bourges, Clermont, and Lyon were so badly ravaged by *routier* attacks that the pope reduced the tithe by half.[140] Froissart described the activities of some Free Companies in Berry in 1364, who apparently encountered little hindrance on the part of the authorities.[141] A decade later the story had not changed. On 21 February 1374 the Duke of Berry made his entry into Bourges, to be greeted by a panic-stricken population. Rumour had it that a band of Breton *écorcheurs* led by Pierre la Vache was rampaging through Orléanais, and apparently intended to descend into Berry. At the prayer of his townspeople John dispatched his messenger Araby to order the captain and bourgeois of Gien to prevent Pierre from crossing the Loire.[142] More often than not, however, less honourable means were employed to divert the routiers, monetary persuasion being the most effective method of causing them to vacate a region.[143]

In addition to Free Companies of erstwhile French-employed troops, the population of Berry had to be wary of English soldiers making raids into the province. In a general ordonnance which probably dates from about 1412, the seneschal of the Duke of Berry strictly forbade the grain merchants of Bourges to transport grain outside the town for fear that it would fall into the hands of the English.[144] The townspeople were kept alert to the dangers of the enemy lurking in the vicinity: a curfew was rigorously enforced for all who were not performing guard duty upon the ramparts.[145]

The English presence in Berry was one element of the general political crisis besetting France in 1412. The long-simmering animosity between the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had finally boiled over into open warfare. The Duke of Berry had aligned himself with the faction led by the counts of Armagnac and of Orléans, which had formed after the assassination of Louis of Orléans at the order of John the Fearless of Burgundy in 1407. The internecine conflict had become so intense that John of Berry had made a treaty with Henry IV on the 18 May 1412, whereby in return for exorbitant concessions the English king agreed to send one thousand men at arms and three thousand archers under the Duke of Clarence to serve for three months at the expense of the Armagnacs.[146] The partisans of Orléans were still awaiting these reinforcements when they were besieged in Bourges by John the Fearless, who had accomplished the political coup of declaring himself "defender of the kingdom," a stance reinforced by the presence in his camp of the Dauphin and Charles VI (r. 1380-1422) "estant malade en sa manière acoustumée," as Monstrelet delicately phrased it.[147] Confronted with the military forces of the king himself, the Armagnacs were trapped into a position of overt rebellion against their liege lord, their only defence being their claim that he was the puppet of an enemy faction. Berry had become the final bastion of the embattled Armagnacs; on the strength of Bourges' defences rested the fate of their party.[148]

Barricaded inside the town was the élite of the Orléans party: the dukes of Berry, Armagnac, and Bourbon, the counts of Auxerre and Alençon, the archbishops of Bourges and Sens, the bishops of Chartres and Paris, and numerous prominent nobles, defended by a garrison of fifteen hundred "cuiraces" (corseletted men at arms) and four hundred archers and cross-bowmen.[149]

On 11 June 1412 the Burgundian army, estimated at fifty thousand strong, set up their encampment in the marshes by the Auron in the vicinity of St. Martin des Brives,[150] although the enemy forces did not manage to completely seal off the town.[151]

According to Monstrelet, the defenders of the town had prepared for the advent of their enemies by burning the faubourgs to the west, and poisoning the wells:

> ... aucuns [de l'armée bourgignonne] pour la grant soif qu'ilz avoient tirèrent de l'eaue des puys qui estoient desdiz faulxbourgs, mais quiconques en buvoit ilz mouroient soudainement ... Et adonques fist-on crier à son de trompe et défendre de par le Roy, qu'il ne feust homme nul qui tirast ne beust eaue de puis, et qu'elle estoit empoisonée, mais beussent et usassent de l'eaue des fontaines et des ruisseaulx courans. Sur quoy leurs adversaires ... affirmèrent depuis

> pour vray que esdiz puis, avoient gecté une herbe que on appelloit ... selon les Latins gesdo et cela avoient-ilz fait afin qu'ilz en mourassent, et aussi pour ce qu'ilz ne pouvoient bonnement passer les marets ne lesdiz fleuves, pour la doubte des asségans.[152]

The town was subjected to a heavy bombardment from La Griète, the pride of the Burgundian artillery, which wrought considerable damage on the ramparts, houses, and churches, and obliged the Duke of Berry to change his residence four times. Sorties from the town were of little effect.[153]

As the siege dragged into the summer the Burgundians began to suffer from a lack of provisions, and funds were a problem for both sides. John of Berry was in such financial straits that he had re-established the Hôtel des Monnaies to mint unauthorised coinage imitating that of the king.[154] Unrest was spreading through the Burgundian army, whose ranks were being rapidly depleted by desertion and disease. Nicolas de Baye noted that:

> ... ouquel voiage [de Bourges] ont esté mors pluseurs grans seigneurs et autres, les uns par pestillence de grant chaleur qui a esté, et secheresses et pourretures de charoignes, les autres de grans mesaises et necessité ... [155]

Doubtless the insalubrious marshes were largely responsible for the pestilence.

Although the Burgundian forces were manifestly superior, neither side seemed capable of deciding the issue by assault. Eventually the besiegers decided to decamp in order to cut off the town's supply route from Charité-sur-Loire, which had an English garrison. Mistaking the movements for a retreat, the defenders rashly set out in pursuit, but were thoroughly routed by an advance guard.[156] The Burgundian army merely moved north around the town to the bourg of St. Privé, where they resumed the siege. Much of the bourg was destroyed, including many of the winepresses and mills, among them the Moulin le Roy.[157] Monstrelet claims that this was the handiwork of the townspeople themselves, who "tantost et hastivement boutèrent les feux ès faulxbourgs, qui estoient moult beaulx, afin que leur ennemis ne se y logassent, et si furent arses aucunes églises qui là estoient, dont ce fut pitié.[158] Once again the disadvantage of extramural suburbs was demonstrated. The environs of Bourges were devastated by the enemy foraging parties.[159]

Finally on June 12th negotiations between the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were arranged. John the Fearless was eager to conclude the talks before the imminent arrival of the English reinforcements. Uncle and nephew met at a formal barrier erected in the midst of the marshes, and after some acrimonious exchanges an accord was reached on July 15th. The Duke of Berry rendered the keys of the town, begging his king's pardon "s'il ne lui a tost rendu l'obéissance de sa cité de Bourges."[160] The besieging army immediately withdrew from Bourges.

The people of Bourges were not to win relief from the hardships of war, however. The Duke of Clarence finally arrived on the scene a month late, only to find that the siege had been lifted and that his erstwhile Armagnac allies had rejected their pact with the English and had been reconciled, at least temporarily, with their enemies. Despite the treaty of indemnity concluded the 4 November 1412 to send home the now embarassing contingent of mercenaries, the English compensated themselves for their displacement by pillaging the regions which lay along their path home, the Centre bearing the brunt of their disappointment.[161]

The people of Bourges had suffered greatly for the politics of their duke. However, John's impact on the town was not confined to military endeavours; rather his influence was evident in every facet of civic life. Heretofore Bourges' lord had been a distant monarch who occasionally made grandiose entries into the town, made a few responses to the petitions of the inhabitants, and then departed, leaving his local officials to interest themselves in municipal problems. But now this external control represented by these fleeting personal contacts became much more immediate when John of Berry established his principal residence in Bourges, making it the administrative centre of his vast domains. The hubbub created by the frequent entries into the town of the Duke and his often exotic entourage, and the constant arrivals and departures of his corps of chevaucheurs or messengers for all parts of the kingdom, became daily facts of life for the townspeople. Although this proximity of the seigneur naturally placed strains upon the prerogatives and the functioning of the civic and ecclesiastical authorities, there can be little question that the town benefited greatly from the famed munificence and energetic interest of this powerful prince.[162]

If the people of Bourges had any predominant impression of John's reign as duke, it may well have been that he seemed to have turned the town into one enormous construction site. The Berrichon architect and master mason Jean Guérant found continuous employment in Bourges from 1384 to 1414.[163] The austere residence which had been adequate for the brief sojourns of the Capetian and Valois kings was much too modest for the permanent residence of a Peer of France.[164] The Duke felt the need for an imposing palace at the seat of his apanage, spacious enough to house his family, his enormous household and his administrative officers, who thus far had been obliged to find makeshift lodgings in the archbishop's residence and the rather rude inns of the town.[165] So the Duke's chief architect Guy de Dammartin was charged with demolishing the old residence and erecting an immense palace on the same site.[166]

The grandiose Grande Salle of the ducal palace became central to municipal and provincial life; there the judicial tribunals of the bailli and the prévôt of Bourges were held, and also the general assemblies of the province and the convocations of the ban and arrière-ban of the Berrichon nobles. Doubtless it was in this hall that the Duke of Aquitaine was "grandement et solennellement reçeu et festié par les bourgois et habitants ... ou palais du duc de Berry" when he visited Bourges on 31 October 1413.[167] In March 1461 the townspeople swore their oath of loyalty to Louis XI in this room. After the fire of 1487 all the royal jurisdictions were transferred there. The Grande Salle was also put to commercial use; it was the scene of the fairs on the feasts of the Innocents and of Christmas, called the foires du Palais.[168]

The most cherished project of the Duke of Berry was the Sainte Chapelle, a jewel of Gothic architecture which unhappily was destroyed by fire in 1693. The chapel's large college required bountiful endowments of lands and rents for financial support.[169] From 1404 until his death in 1416, the duke lavished lucrative gifts of real estate and revenues upon his favourite foundation, ranging from the banal Moulins le Roy, and the winepresses and the taxes on grain, wine, wool and cloth in the faubourg of St. Privé[170] to the annual rent of one hundred livres tournois the butchers paid for the Grande Boucherie, the main meat market.[171] A celebrated collector of artworks, John endowed the chapel with a superb treasury of illuminated books, chalices, sacerdotal vestments, reliquaries, gold and silver tableaux and precious gems.[172]

This sudden acquisition of great wealth by a new foundation created resentment amid the local population, lay and cleric alike, especially when the Duke contrived to have the ancient chapter of St. Aoustrille-du-Château dissolved and its properties and privileges transferred to the Sainte Chapelle. Although he later revoked his action and re-established a skeleton college of thirteen canons,[173] most of the revenues and prerogatives remained with the new foundation, and so did popular hostility.

Clearly such major construction activity provided a great stimulus to suppliers and artisans in related industries, and to the town economy as a whole. Those masters whom the Duke employed from outside Berry often settled in Bourges and invested in property there.

John was a renowned patron of the arts, and many artists established themselves in Bourges so as to be near their benefactor. A virtual colony of artists from northern France, Flanders, and Germany, including Jean de Cambrai and Pol de Limbourg, grew up in the parish of Notre Dame du Fourchaud, in the island formed by the Rue de la Narette, Rue des Oies, and the Rue de la Pelleterie.[174] This colony of artists did not disappear upon the death of the great patron; the names of the brothers of Pol de Limbourg appear without interruption in the registers of the Sainte Chapelle from 1416 until 1435,[175] and a list of rents from the records of St. Pierre le Puellier from about 1440 to 1525 indicate that the quartier around Rue de la Porte Jaune continued to be the favourite residence of the artists and artisans living in Bourges, including Jean Colombe.[176]

Obviously this patronage on the grande scale required great sums of money. The Duke of Berry was famous for both his prodigality and his habitual impecuniosity, and he died bankrupt. He frequently resorted to his subjects for assistance in his financial difficulties.

In his extant household accounts from 1370 to 1414 there are numerous references to loans from the townspeople of Bourges. Sometimes these loans appear to have been made by the citizens as a corporate body, as in 1370:

> Des bourgois & habitans de la ville de Bourges par la main [de] Pion Pelen Receveur de la dite ville que monseigneur a fait emprunter deulx pour paier ... la despense de son houstel ... & lequel argent monseigneur a promis rendre & se rebatre de ce quil demeure des aides ... don que le Roy nostre seigneur luy fera ... vi^{c} xl l.[177]

In March 1411 the Duke was badly in need of funds to wage the civil war; he borrowed four thousand écus from the "bourgoys & habitans de laditte ville de Bourges," but when he repaid the loan in 1413 and 1414 he did so in separate payments to individuals.[178]

Indeed the majority of the loans recorded were made by individual bourgeois "de leur propre." For example, on 26 June 1370 the Duke borrowed four hundred francs d'or from a group of eighteen citizens, the individual contributions ranging from twenty to thirty francs;[179] in 1371 a loan totalling six hundred francs was repaid to fourteen prominent bourgeois and clerics, again in individual sums ranging from twenty to one hundred francs.[180] Again, in this period from 1411 to 1414 when John's finances were at the crisis point, he appealed to several bourgeois who complied with amounts ranging from the comparatively modest sum of 11 fr. 5 s. tournois to a handsome 112 fr. 6 d. tournois.[181] Sometimes the debt was repaid quite quickly, such as the forty écus d'or borrowed from the merchant Guillaume Gonneau on 16 July 1414 and returned on November 11th of the same year.[182] Often however there was an interval of two or more years. In 1414 there seems to have been a concerted effort to liquidate such debts, one entry stating that ... " ... Monseigneur veult tous telz prests estre paiez aux bourgeois &

habitans de sa ville de Bourges."[183]

These numerous loans hint not only at the interdependent relationship between the townspeople and the Duke, but also at the prosperity of the merchants and bourgeois. The fact that the resident ducal household of some two hundred fifty officers drew upon the resources of the town was not a negligible factor in this prosperity.[184] Certainly some of the debts contracted for supplies and services went unpaid for a considerable length of time, such as that due to the grocer Pierre de la Villeneuve, who submitted his bill of 1193 fr. 6 s. 10 d. for deliveries to the household of the Duchess on 10 December 1410, but was not paid until 11 November 1413, and then only five hundred livres of the total amount due.[185] Of course the Duke's more exotic tastes for such delicacies as oranges[186] had to be satisfied with imports from Paris and elsewhere; cartloads of such provisions were continually entering the gates of the town. But for the basic needs of the household the tradespeople of Bourges were patronised.[187] The Duke himself patronised the cloth merchants and tailors of Bourges, for both their own fine produc[illegible] and imports from Flanders and elsewhere; the services of local veterinarians, barbers, and the like are frequent entries in the ducal household accounts.[188] Carters were often hired on a casual basis to transport provisions in the path of the peripatetic Duke.[189]

After 1413 the pageantry and frenetic activity associated with the ducal court left Bourges; the aged Duke of Berry virtually abandoned his residences in the provinces, moving part of the furnishings in his palace in Bourges to his hôtel of Nesle in Paris.[190] There he died on 15 June 1416, at the advanced age of seventy-six years.

It was the custom that, in case of default of direct male heirs, apanages reverted to the Crown. As was provided for in John's will drawn up in 1397, when he realised the strong likelihood that he would die without male issue,[191] his duchy and possessions were returned to the royal domain. The Dauphin John Duke of Touraine was the next recipient of the apanage;[192] when he died on 5 April 1417, the new heir to the throne, the future Charles VII, became the next Duke of Berry and lord of Bourges.[193]

Historians of Berry have tended to regard the period prior to 1418 as a long crescendo towards the fulfillment of Bourges' destiny as the last stronghold of the embattled French monarchy during the most sombre years of the Anglo-French wars. The Duke of Berry in particular has been given the most credit for preparing Bourges for this role, although ironically just six years before the town had put up an obstinate defence against a royal army.[194] It is unlikely that John of Berry was endowed with the prescience with which some would credit him; while at his death the English were riding the crest of their victory at Agincourt, there was as yet little indication that the Valois monarch would be compelled to seek refuge in the Centre of France. On the other hand, there can be no question that the vigour imparted to the town by this eminent prince did much to enable it later to become the headquarters for the onerous task of reclaiming France from the English.

On 29 May 1418 the Burgundians profited from the Parisians' discontent with five years of Armagnac misgovernment to seize the city in a veritable coup d'état. Amid the confusion of the purge of Orléanist sympathisers which followed, the Dauphin Charles fled to Mehun-sur-Yèvre, and thence to Bourges.[195] The efforts of his forces to contain the Burgundian resurgence were less than successful, leading to the assassination of John the Fearless during a conference with the Dauphin at the bridge of Montereau on 10 September 1419. Charles immediately withdrew from Bourges, where he "manda gens d'armes de toutes parts à venir devers lui" and marched into Anjou.[196] This strategy to exploit the temporary disarray in the enemy camp was made pointless by the Treaty of Troyes, concluded the 21 May 1420, in which Charles VI recognized Henry V as heir to the throne of France. The coup de grâce came on 3 January 1421 (n.st.), when the Dauphin was formally declared a bastard by his own parents.[197] Charles was banished from the kingdom, but instead, after a brief sally into Languedoc to take Point-Saint-Esprit, he took refuge in Bourges.

There are varying reports as to Charles' reaction to the new situation. According to tradition he evinced only a dispirited desire to sulk in his "bien-aimée ville" where he would remain "tant parce qu'elle est au milieu du royaume que pour la vraye et sage obéissance que les bourgeois de la ville lui rendent comme à leur seul et naturel prince."[198] Chastellain is more generous, describing the Dauphin as defiant; at Bourges he:

> fit assembler de toutes parts gens d'armes, et avec advis et bon conseil pris sur ses grans et malheureux affaires, se disposa à résister de son pouvoir à la felle entreprise de ses ennemies qui le poursuivoient à honte et à perdition et ne tendoient que à avoir la main de victoire et de conqueste sur luy et le sien jusques au bout.[199]

Charles' subsequent activities, albeit often misdirected and unsuccessful, would tend to confirm this commendable resolution.

Nonetheless one must concur with Chastellain's succinct assessment of the situation that "l'héritier de la couronne ... n'estoit pour lors maistre de sa fortune".[200] His plight earned him the scornful soubriquet of "the king of Bourges."[201]

Popular tradition, sustained by not a few historians, has claimed that Berry was the only province to remain faithful to Charles.[202] This is to exaggerate the Dauphin's predicament: although of course the frontiers of the Kingdom of Bourges varied somewhat following the fortunes of war, in general all of central and southern France, with the exception of English Guienne, recognized Charles as the legitimate heir to the throne.[203]

Nevertheless the fact that the Dauphin had a rather broader base of support than is usually conceded him should not mitigate the value of the services rendered by the Berrichons to his cause for the nineteen years he remained among them. Charles VII himself formally recognized the unflagging loyalty of the citizens of Bourges in 1437, in a testament which merits quoting at some length:

> ..., nous considerans et ayans en memoire la bonne volunte loyaulte et obeyssance qui ont tousjours eue et gardee envers nous nos bien amez les bourgeois manans et habitans de notre ville de Bourges mesmemens depuis notre partemens de notre ville de Paris apres lentree faicte en icelle par aulcuns lors rebelles et desobeyssons a notre tres cher sieur et pere a qui Dieu pardont. En laquelle notre ville de Bourges premierement que en aultres villes et citez des marches de pardeca nous retraysmes et y fusmes grandemens et notablemens receuz. Et nous firent lesditz bourgeois et habitans plaine obeyssance comme a leur seigneur naturel seul filz et heritier de notre feu seigneur et pere. En donnans exemple a nos aultres subjectz de Poitou Auvergne et aultres nos pais pardeca qui semblablemens en les ensuyvens nous obeyrens et recurent les bons et agreables services que lesditz bourgeois manans et habitans nous ons depuis tousjours continuellemens faictz par moult longtemps que feismes residence et notre demourance en icelle notre ville et depuis aux grandz besonges charges et affaires que avons eue a supporter a loccasion de la guerre pour lesquelz ilz nous ons de bon cueur liberallemens tousjours octroye et baille de leur et de leur chevaunces et que leur avons fait requerir et demander sans aulcun reffus contredict ou difficulte.[204]

In 1474 Louis XI also recalled these services to his parents who "ons eu et trouve ... de grandz plaisirs et curiality et ceulx de ladite ville fort enclins a leur complaire et faire chose a eulx plaisante et profitables," remembering expecially the time when:

> les anglois ... et les Bourguignons tenoient et occuppoient presque tout le royaulm et quilz furent devant ladicte ville et tellement que ... elle fut preservee et gardee desditz anglois et bourguinons qui fut cause du recouvremens et sauvemens dudict royaulme ... [205]

One of the more unobtrusive but significant services of the people of Bourges was the daily support they lent to the penurious households of Charles and his wife Marie of Anjou. From January to June 1422, the Chapter of St. Etienne furnished the royal table with fish from its fishponds, totalling 4107 l. 18 s. 5 d.; in 1435 the debt remained unpaid.[206] The records of the Queen's household, which was established permanently in Bourges during this period, are particularly revealing of the enormous debts incurred in the town. Despite the grant of ten thousand _livres tournois_ accorded Marie of Anjou by the Estates General held in Bourges in 1422,[207] her _maître d'hôtel_ Jacques Trousseau (who is described as the "vicomte de Bourges")[208] had to report debts of 4917 l. 7 s. 9 d. for the period from 1 July to 31 December 1423.[209] The succeeding fiscal periods showed little improvement, with debts of 1937 l. 2 s. 10 d. _parisis_ (1 January-30 June 1424), and 1459 l. 19 s. 4 d. _parisis_ (1 July-31 December 1424).[210] Trousseau certified that from the 1 September 1423 to the 31 July 1425 the expenditures of the households of the Queen and of the Dauphin Louis totalled 6922 l. 6 s. 8 d. _parisis_ whereas the receipts came to only 4640 _livres parisis_. Nevertheless the _maître d'hôtel_ had managed somehow to liquidate most of these debts.[211] But the Queen's debts continued to accumulate, totalling 2268 l. 5. s. 1 d. _parisis_ (June 1424-June 1425), 930 l. 3 s. 2 d. _parisis_ (June-30 December 1425), 2633 l. 10 s. 4 d. _parisis_ (1 January [n. st.]-2 June 1426), and 988 l. 10 s. 10 d. _parisis_ (1 July-30 December 1426), when the account ends.[212]

Many of the entries were for payments due to tradesmen of Bourges, such as cloth merchants, butchers, and grocers. A major burden on the household finances was the wages of the royal servants resident in Bourges, ranging from bread bakers, the man who did the "esmoulaige de cousteaux" and other kitchen staff to stable boys, wine stewards, and messengers.

When the future Louis XI was born in Bourges on the 3 July 1423 Charles VII enjoined the townspeople to share in his rejoicing.[213] The infant was baptised in the cathedral of St. Etienne by the Bishop of Laon amid such pomp as the impoverished royal hôtel could muster. The separate household of the new Dauphin was inaugurated in debt: by the 3 January 1424 (n. st.) the records showed 1023 l. 7 s. 6 d. of unpaid expenditures for only two and one half months,[214] and the total from the 1 September 1423 to the 30 June 1425 came to 4745 l. 2 s. 1 obole parisis.[215]

On the long-awaited death of Charles VI on the 21 October 1422, the King of Bourges assumed the title of King of France, but many years of military campaigning were necessary to give substance to that proud title. A major problem of the precarious régime was the coterie of self-seeking courtiers who held great sway over the malleable Charles VII. The armed confrontation at Bourges of two factions of Charles' adherents in July 1420 underscores the fragility of his personal rule.

The struggle for dominance over Charles VII came at a crucial point in the Anglo-French war, when the enemy was amassing its forces for a strike into the very heart of the Kingdom of Bourges, at Orléans. The strength of the French royalists was at a low ebb due to the enervating rivalry between the latest favourite Georges de la Tremouille and the Constable Arthur de Richemont, which had resulted in the latter's dismissal and exile in Brittany at the end of 1427.[216] Richemont and his supporters resolved to force their way back into the circle of influence around the king by occupying his capital. The royal letter of remission issued the 12 July 1428 tells the story.[217] Richemont and his cohorts the counts of Clermont and Perdriac, with a company of barons, knights, and soldiers, had contrived to enter the town "par le moyen, ayde et faveur d'aucuns Particuliers de notredite Ville, noz Officiers et autres ... " The rebels persuaded an assembly of the laity and clergy of Bourges to lend them its support. Although clearly several royal officers had been won over to the rebel cause, the commanding officers, the Sires de Prie and de Bonnay, barricaded themselves inside the Grosse Tour in company with its captain, the Sire de la Borde.

The defences of the Grosse Tour had been upgraded only six months before.[218] These improvements stood the defenders in good stead as they managed to hold off the attackers, although de Prie was killed and both sides suffered casualties. The rebels seized control of the Hôtel des Monnaies and the salt storehouses, key royal establishments in the town.

Charles VII hastened to Bourges from Poitiers, and attempted a counter-siege, but those inside the town remained obdurate, insisting that the king was dominated by bad advisors. The strength of Richemont's party was now overwhelming. If Charles wanted to enter his capital he would have to submit to their demands. This he did with a graciously worded letter of remission which could not conceal his humiliation.

It is clearly stated that the insurgents had won the support of the majority of the townspeople. This does not necessarily imply any disloyalty to Charles VII himself, but rather their resolution to force the contentious issue of his favourites which was paralysing the royalist war effort. In addition the people were anxious to rid Berry of pillaging troops. The king appeared to harbour no rancour against those who had opposed his will, specifying that "aucune Note, Charge ou Reproche soit imputée contra l'honneur de nosdits Officiers de notredite Ville de Bourges et autres Bourgeois et Habitans d'icelle ... " The genuineness of this official forgiveness is showed by the king's continued reliance upon the townspeople in the following crucial months.

In January of the following year Bourges dispatched cannon, gunpowder, and food supplies to succour the people of Orléans, who had been besieged by the English since the 10 October 1428.[219] Bourges also contributed powder, weapons, and soldiers to the expedition led by Joan of Arc which successfully raised the siege.[220] This marked the beginning of the Maid's association with the Berrichon population. To commemorate her victory a royal decree instituted the "Procession de la Pucelle," which wound through the streets of Bourges every May 8th until 1793.[221]

It was at Bourges, Charles VII's military headquarters, that the march to Reims for his coronation was organised in July 1429. Charles led the impressive cavalcade out of the town gates, "tousjours Jehenne la Pucelle avec lui et sa compaignie."[222] When the royal entourage made its triumphal return from Reims, Joan remained in Bourges for about three weeks to assemble her company for an attack on St. Pierre-le-Moutier.[223]

Joan probably passed again through Bourges on her way to the siege at Charité-sur-Loire in eastern Berry. The citizens of Bourges once again resolved to send her aid; their procureur Pierre de Beaumont presented their disposition to Guillaume Bastard, lieutenant general of the bailli of Berry, stating that

> promptement et sans delai [il] fallait envoyer par iceux bourgeois et habitans à haut et puissant seigneur Monsieur d'Albret, comte de Dreux et de Gavre, et Jehanne la Pucelle, estant au siège devant Charité-sur-Loire par l'ordonnance et commandement du roi, la somme de treize cens écus d'or courants à présent, pour entretenir leurs gens, ou autrement seraient contraincts eux et leurs dits gens de partir de devant ladicte ville et tout le pays de Berry, si ledit siège était lévé pour defaut de paiement de ladicte somme.[224]

The sum was raised on the municipal wine tax, its collection being farmed out to Jean de la Loe for two thousand livres tournois.[225] This could not ensure the success of the siege, however, and Joan was compelled to retire to Bourges in defeat.

On the 16 January 1430 (n. st.) Joan registered at Bourges the letters of nobility for herself and her brothers which she had received from Charles VII.[226]

Joan of Arc last resided in Bourges at the end of March 1430.[227] Her mission ended in May of the same year with her capture by the Burgundians. The significance of Joan of Arc will always be cause for dispute among historians, but not among the people of Berry, who have preserved and embellished every memory of her contacts with them.

Bourges continued to serve as military and governmental headquarters as the resurgence of the French royalists gained momentum. On the 12 November 1437 Charles VII made his triumphal entry into Paris, from which he had ignominiously fled nineteen years before. By 1439 the chief governmental functions had been transferred from Poitiers and Bourges to Paris, which was thereby reinstated as the official capital of France.

The province of Berry had suffered greatly from being a major theatre of war during one of the most active periods of the Anglo-French conflict. In his official letter of gratitude to the inhabitants of Bourges dated 5 May 1437 Charles VII recognized

> ... les grands charges pertes et dommages quilz ont euz et soustenuz par les compaignies de gens darmes qui se sont adouhez a nous durant dix huict ou vingt ans ou plus soubz ombre de la guerre et de nostre service ons souventefois passe et repasse demeure et sejourne en nostre paie de Berry et environ ladicte ville de Bourges et aultremens en plusieurs et diverses manieres.[228]

On the 20 September 1428 Charles had exempted the dean and chapter of St. Etienne from billeting soldiers,[229] but evidently other members of the clergy were not so fortunate as to escape this onerous obligation; in a letter of 4 February 1434 Charles VII admitted that

> A l'occasion de la guerre et des logis de gens d'armes et garnisons qui ont esté en nostredit pais de Berry, ilz sont devenuz à telle povreté que à paine ont-ils de quoy vivre en faisant le service divin, lequel ilz font et continuent bien et deuement et ainsi que se leurs rentes estoient entières ... [230]

Jean Chaumeau claimed that the town as a whole was exempt from the obligation to lodge soldiers.[231] The only documentary evidence to support this is a clause in the 1181 charter of Philip Augustus which exempted the people of Bourges and the Septaine from the culcitra,[232] which Chenu treats as the equivalent of the old French term couëtte et coutil, which were the beds furnished to soldiers.[233] It seems far more likely that this exemption referred to billeting the royal household rather than soldiers; even if the original intention was the latter, it probably fell by the wayside in the 1420's when so many troops were continually passing through Bourges.

In any case, the frequent presence of large garrisons, even encamped outside the town walls, could hardly have been conducive to civic order. Charles VII could not afford to be overly scrupulous in his choice of men taken into his service, and self-serving mercenaries did not hesitate to harry supporters of the king if profit lay therein. A prime example is the audacious routier captain Jacques de Pailly, known as Fortépice, who had carried out a number of exploits against the Burgundians, but could not refrain from absconding with some funds destined for the campaign in Champaigne. Richemont's archers finally caught up with the miscreant in Bourges, but surprisingly enough he escaped summary execution due to the intervention of the people of the town, to whom apparently he had rendered some services.[234] It is improbable that many other écorcheurs managed to enter into the good graces of the local population, however. As late as 1446 companies of routiers were creating civil disorder in the environs of Bourges.[235] The scars of war in Berry as in the rest of France were long to heal; the programme of economic reconstruction continued well into the reign of Louis XI.[236]

The passing of the kingdom of Bourges did not mean that its erstwhile capital retired into obscurity. Charles VII disliked Paris which had spurned him for so long, preferring to live in seclusion in the provinces, especially in the vicinity of Tours and Bourges.[237] He particularly favoured the latter as a site for major assemblies of the French clergy. In 1432 an assembly countered the wishes of the pope in approving the Council of Basle; this action led to the promulgation of the famous Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges on the 7 July 1438, which was tantamount to a declaration of the liberties of the Gallican Church. Subsequent assemblies convoked in Bourges in August 1440, September 1444, and July 1452 were concerned with the assertion in practice of this quasi-independence from the Roman See.[238]

Charles VIII's intimate associations with Bourges enabled several of the town's citizens to rise to national prominence. Among the royal counsellors were Pierre Trousseau, a former canon of St. Etienne, Jean d'Estampes, in charge of the royal finances and once treasurer of John Duke of Berry, Jean de Breul and Etienne de Sauzay counsellors at the Parlement of Paris in 1436, and Nicolas Fradet, royal ambassador to Rome.[239] All of these names figure frequently in documents relating to municipal affairs.

Of course the most spectacularly successful of these bourgeois from Bourges was Jacques Coeur, who in the relatively minor post of *argentier* to Charles VII created a commercial empire without precedent in medieval France. The ostentatious palace he constructed at enormous cost on the Gallo-Roman walls of Bourges is a lasting monument to his immense wealth. However, this is not the place to recount yet again the story of Coeur's meteoric career. Coeur's chief factor, Guillaume de Varyé, another native of Bourges, survived the fall of his master to become a prominent officer of Charles VII's household near the end of his reign, rising to such prestigious positions as Receiver General of the *comté* of Maine and Governor of Languedoc.[240]

The devotion of the citizens of Bourges to Charles VII did not flag in the waning years of his reign, when the impatient Dauphin Louis stirred up restive elements in the kingdom to hasten the transition of power. This is clearly indicated in a letter which the townspeople addressed to the king when they received a missive from the Dauphin, exiled in Burgundy, announcing the birth of an heir on the 27 July 1459. They were perplexed as to what reaction was suitable and sought their sovereign's advice.[241]

A final fruitless attempt at reconciliation between the aged king and his estranged heir was made at Bourges in January 1461.[242] Charles VII lived out his final days in paranoid isolation, incarcerating his physician Adam Fumée in the Grosse Tour on suspicion of having poisoned his patient.[243] On 22 July 1461 Charles finally died at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, greatly mourned by his devoted subjects in Berry.

For Bourges an era had ended; while of course the town's prominence on the national scene did not immediately diminish, undeniably its heyday was drawing to a close with the advent of the new régime. Under Louis XI (r. 1461-1483), the focus of royal government shifted from the Centre to Touraine, and whereas formerly messengers from all parts of France and Europe had galloped towards Bourges in search of the king, now they made Plessis-lès-Tours their destination.

At this point, when Bourges started its slow but inevitable decline into provincial obscurity, a pause in the narrative is appropriate to cast a cursory glance at the nature and vitality of the town's economy.[244] Whatever the fortunes of war and politics, the mainstay of the Berruyer economy remained agriculture. And here Bourges was never more than a provincial market town, serving the needs of the townspeople and the peasants of the surrounding plat pays. The cartloads of livestock, grain, wine and foodstuffs rumbling through the streets of Bourges to the weekly church-sponsored markets were destined for local consumption only.

Indeed, most of the economic activity of the town was oriented to the local, or at the most the regional, market. A great many of the trade guilds were based upon primary products. Some trades such as the vendors of fish and salt were loosely controlled in matter of public health by the Coutumes of the lord of Bourges.[245] Others were strictly regulated by royal or ducal officials; the bakers for example were subject to periodic ordonnances prescribing in minute detail the types, weights, and prices of the bread they were to produce.[246]

Of the more prominent guilds, the butchers made a place for themselves among the social and economic élite of Bourges. Reference is made to them in the list of domanial revenues drawn up about 1100 which specifies that every Christmas Eve those selling meat had to pay one *denier* to the *vicarius*.[247] In 1211 Philip Augustus granted to the butchers the royal meat market in the Place Gordaine, in return for an annual rent of one hundred *livres parisis*; in addition the king promised to rebuild the market should it ever burn down.[248] On the strength of this decree the butchers' guild assumed that it had been granted a monopoly over the meat industry in Bourges.

The Grande Boucherie was destroyed by the great fire that devastated Bourges in 1353. In an edict of April 1362 John Duke Berry declared that he would not honour his forebear's promise to rebuild the market, but magnanimously allowed the butchers to salvage building materials from the ruins and granted them one *arpent* of wood from the domanial forest near Bourges to aid in the task of reconstruction.[249]

Domanial officials had already moved to diminish the overweening power of the butchers. After the fire the royal *procureur* had had a new meat market constructed near the Porte Neuve. The butchers of the Grande Boucherie angrily demanded that the new rival establishment be destroyed, but this the Duke refused to do, instead agreeing to transfer its control to the main butchers' community.[250]

In view of the ancient rights and duties levied upon the butchers' trade, it is somewhat surprising that the butchers did not formally organise themselves into a community until after the fire. In letters of January 1359 Charles V, then Lieutenant Governor of the kingdom, authorized the butchers

> qu'en présence du bailli ou du prévôt de Bourges, ou du procureur de roi dudit bailliage son lieutenant ... pour le fait de l'imposition ou toute autre cause intéressant la communauté des bouchers, ils puissent s'assembler et se réunir, se concerter et s'entendre, et sur ce, disposer et imposer taille et collecte comme il sera de raison, en lieu honnête et convenable, toutes et quantes fois il sera opportun. Et ce qui sera fait, statué et imposé par lesdicts bouchers ou la plus grande et saine partie, d'iceux sera mis à exécution par quelques officiers du roi et sur leur requête, s'il le faut, pour ceux qui s'y refuseraient être vivement et dûment poursuivis.[251]

Despite this apparent domination of the community by royal officers, the butchers continued to be aggressive in pursuing their interests. In 1405 Charles VI transferred the annual rent for the Grande Boucherie to the Sainte Chapelle, but the canons encountered stubborn resistance when they tried to collect the money, and the Crown was forced to intervene on several occasions.[252]

The butchers had become a wealthy, closed community with hereditary membership. In 1381 the Grands Jours of Berry declared that Jehan Pinchault could not purchase a stall and practise the butcher's trade because his father was not a butcher and because he had not received the "consentement, accord et volunté de tous les autres bouchers et compaignons et ladite communauté et société ... ".[253]

The prosperous bourgeois who were admitted to this select community did not sully their hands with the gore of the butcher's trade; instead they assumed the title of "maître boucher" and rented their stalls to "bouchers vendant chair" who actually carried on the work. In 1429 the "bouchers vendants" took their masters to court over the method of allocating and renting stalls.[254] Another protracted dispute before the Parlement of Paris from March 1427 until August 1432 reveals the great rancour which had arisen between the *patrons* and the labouring butchers. Among the master butchers were Guillaume Bastard lieutenant of the *bailli* of Bourges, Guillaume Alabat *procureur du roi*, "et autres les plus grands de Bourges qui ont le gouvernement de la justice et de la police"; it was argued that "à Bourges dix ou douze personnes sont seigneurs de tous les étaux de la Boucherie qui trouvent manière d'iceux louer chers." The "bouchers vendants chairs," some refugees from the wars, sought to wrest the monopoly from these powerful bourgeois and win the right to set up their own stalls, arguing that the statutes of Philip Augustus and Charles V conferred rights only on true (practising) butchers. The king decided that the illegal stalls could remain for two years, and refused to hear the appeal of the master butchers.[255] The royal *procureur* used the same arguments to good effect in 1431 when he successfully prosecuted the butchers' community for failing to pay their dues to the king, noting that they had not statutory authority to call themselves master butchers and were "de plus grans et plus riches de toute la ville de Bourges" and hence could well afford to pay.[256]

The butchers' community of wealthy, non-practising *propriétaires* was not typical of the guilds in medieval Bourges. Most of the trades such as the carpenters, masons, bakers, shoemakers, tanners, and hosiers remained quite open and hard-working communities where membership usually was earned by serving an apprenticeship and producing a *chef-d'oeuvre*. Regulation of these guilds was generally rudimentary until the end of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, when a spate of royal statutes provides evidence of commercial decadence.[257]

The magnificent edifices still standing in modern Bourges are reminders that the medieval city enjoyed a prosperity which could not be based solely on this localised economic activity. It was the cloth industry which sustained the town's growth, provided wealth for its merchant entrepreneurs, and won Bourges a reputation in the commercial centres of western Europe.

Diocletian[258] and Pliny[259] spoke admiringly of the fine cloth produced in Roman Bourges. The first hint we have of the resuscitation of the Berrichon cloth industry is the royal promulgation of regulatory statutes in 1225, which since have been lost.[260] The Crown took a sustained interest in this lucrative métier. In February 1276 Jean de Bar sold to Philip III "le droit d'amande et de justice sur ceux qui travailloient de l'aiguille et en laine dans la ville de Bourges."[261]

By the fourteenth century the textile industry in Berry was flourishing. Enterprising cloth merchants exploited Bourges' strategic location on the principal trade routes to send their wares regularly to fairs in distant towns such as Marseilles,[262] Albi,[263] and Chalon-sur-Saone.[264] There is strong evidence that Berrichon cloth was sold in the emporium of Florence from at least 1307, suggesting that its quality could compete successfully with the fine textiles from the great industrial centres in Italy, Burgundy, Flanders, and northern France.[265] The privileged colony of Italian merchants established in Bourges bears witness to the vitality of the commercial links between Berry and northern Italy throughout the fourteenth century.[266]

The turbulence of the Hundred Years War caused great disruption in the French textile industry. In 1443 Charles VII revewed an earlier ban on the import of cloth from English-occupied Normandy into the territories "en notre obéissance," in an effort to stem the drain of bullion into enemy coffers.[267] Attempting to revitalize the economy of Bourges "qui a loccasion des guerres qui si longuement ont dure et sont encores de present en nostre royaume est demeuree depeuplee et desolee," Charles exhorted the clothworkers of Normandy to emigrate to the town, as some already had done. In the same letter dated 9 July 1443 the king appointed four commissioners, including his argentier Jacques Coeur and the Archbishop of Vienne, who were directed to draw up statutes to reorganize the Berrichon cloth industry.[268]

The resulting thirty-eight articles were presented to the king for approval on the 5 October 1443 by the commissioners together with the most prominent citizens of the town. A large assembly of "bourgeois drappiers tixerans pareurs foulons tinturiers presseurs et tondeurs de draps et autres habitans de la ville de Bourges" ratified the statutes on March 30th of the following year.[269] The articles meticulously regulated the different stages of manufacture, specifying the types of cloth to be produced and the seals to be affixed to the final project. The hours and conditions of employment were laid down, with the artisans directed to assemble at the stone cross by St. Pierre le Marché for hire by the day or the week, depending on their craft. All clothworkers were welcome to come to Bourges upon the payment of five sous parisis, provided they were "bons ouvriers et souffisans"; proof of their competence in the form of apprenticeship or chef-d'oeuvre was not required. The métier was policed by six visitors elected annually by the bourgeois and merchants of Bourges who were responsible for ensuring the quality of the product at each stage of the process.

These statutes were refined throughout the rest of the fifteenth century as the town fathers sought to combat the inexorable decline of the cloth industry with ever greater organisation and quality controls. In April 1445 the masters of the métier felt it necessary to append nine more articles dealing with sundry abuses.[270] In 1452 forty-two articles were added to regulate the weavers,[271] and Louis XI gave special statutes to the dyers and shearers in 1466.[272]

These efforts seem to have been largely ineffectual, however; the great fire of 1478 dealt the last blow to an industry slowly sliding into stagnation. The prosperity of Bourges under Duke John and Charles VII had been a function more of political circumstance than of economic viability. When Louis XI chose to establish his court in Touraine, the commercial underpinning of the Berrichon capital began to collapse, and the town depended once again upon the supply of primary goods and services to the surrounding region for its livelihood.

La Thaumassière naively believed that Louis XI harboured a special affection for the city of his birth.[273] It may be doubted that many fifteenth century citizens of Bourges would have shared this seventeenth century antiquarian's enthusiasm, however. It would seem that Louis paid only lipservice in praising the townspeople's faithful service to his parents; certainly he only visited the town on rare occasions, and their relations could not be described as untroubled.

The first occasion for discord between Louis XI and his subjects of Bourges arose during the War of the Public Weal in 1465. In letters of November 1461 Louis had endowed his younger brother Charles with Berry as an apanage,[274] and shortly thereafter the young man began to receive oaths of homage from the people of Bourges in his quality as Duke of Berry.[275] Charles, a chronic malcontent, easily fell prey to seditious suggestions that the apanage did not befit one of his station, and in March 1465 he joined in an uprising of nobles reminiscent of earlier feudal times, with the intent of imposing a tutelage upon Louis.[276]

At the beginning of April the arch conspirator the Duke of Bourbon seized several châteaux in Berry and Auvergne with comparative ease, possibly because the tax-burdened inhabitants tended to sympathize with the revolt.[277] He sent his brother Louis, the Bastard of Bourbon, to occupy Bourges. Louis XI reacted swiftly to this offensive, on April 10th dispatching a company of two hundred lances to defend Berry.[278] and near the end of the month he himself descended into the province as the gravity of the situation became clear.[279]

In Bourges itself the situation is confused. On April 18th two prominent merchants and partisans of Charles, Martin Leroy and Martin Anjorrant, excused their inability to answer a summons from the Chambre des Comptes in Paris, stating that "sans mettre nous et si peu de biens que avons en bien grant dangier, ne nous est possible estre vers vous au jour que vous aviez mis, obstant le triboul et brouillis en quoy sommes en ceste ville," and requesting an adjournment of their case "jusques ceste besogne soit autrement appaisée, ce qui sera de brief, se Dieu plaist, ..."[280]

According to Louis XI, there was a strong enemy faction within the town which permitted the attacking forces to enter:

> ... le bastart de Bourbon, le seigneur de Beauvoir, et environ lxx ou iiii^{xx} lances des Bourbonnois estoient entrez dedens Bourges (à l'occasion desquelles choses ceux de ladicte ville de Bourges, qui soustiennent le party à nous contraire, ont empesché que la ville ne se soit mise en notre obeissance) ... [281]

As the capital of the Duchy of Berry, Bourges was made the general headquarters of the League.[282] The chief officials of the Duke occupied the

Grosse Tour, whose defences were being reinforced by industrious masons, carpenters and labourers from the town. Stocks of cannon powder, artillery, munitions and foodstuffs were supplied by local armourers and merchants.[283] Above the Tower floated a standard, on which the royal insignia had been hastily replaced by Charles' ducal arms.[284] The streets below were crowded with the Berrichon nobles and contingents of francs-archers from the villages of the apanage who had been summoned to Bourges by Duke Charles.[285] Several wealthy citizens of Bourges made sizeable loans totalling 2797 l. 3 s. 7 d. to help finance the League's war preparation.[286]

Louis decided that it would be too costly in terms of time and effort to assail the redoubtable defenses of Bourges,[287] and instead pressed on to attack Montluçon, a more vulnerable city in Bourbonnais. While en route there the king received word that the Bastard of Bourbon and his men had decamped from Bourges to attack Saint Amand. In their absence the royalists in the town attempted to follow the lead of other Berrichon cities in submitting to Louis, but were prevented from doing so by the prompt action of the Duke of Berry's partisans who sent an urgent message to the Bastard and de Beauvoir. They hastened back with reinforcements of one hundred lances, and Bourges remained in the hands of the League.[288] Nevertheless the king did manage to make inroads on Bourges' strength; on July 6th the town garrison attacked the royal francs-archers at Châteauneuf-sur-Cher, and was thoroughly routed.[289]

Bourges was still occupied by troops of the Leaguers under the command of the bailli de Forez at the end of 1465. The town's surrender was obtained only by the treaty which concluded the War of the Public Weal, whereby once again Berry reverted to the royal domain.[290] The suspicious nature of the Spider King was unlikely easily to forgive and to forget the adherence of Bourges to the cause of his rebel brother.

In December 1466 Louis XI paid his first visit to Bourges since the death of his father, first demanding that an oath of loyalty be sworn by the townspeople. The town fathers sought to propitiate the king with handsome gifts, jousts, and other festivities.[291] Louis seems to have taken their efforts in good part, in keeping with his desire to pacify his realm, and remained in their midst almost three months.[292]

The residual irritation the king probably felt with his subjects of Bourges did not hinder him from including the town in his projects to revive France's prosperity after the devastation of the Anglo-French wars. He continued his unremitting efforts to have a university established at Bourges in order to attract scholars from across Europe, a project first proposed by Duke Charles of Berry. Bourges was among the principal towns of the realm which Louis tried to involve in his commercial endeavours. When he was attempting to impose a French monopoly on the spice trade with the Orient, he had his agent, Nicolas Arnoulx, in Bourges to explain to the public the tariffs and the possibilities offered by the royal spice ships.[293] On three occasions Bourges was required to send two merchants to assemblies of representatives of the bonnes villes of the kingdom to discuss commercial matters. In October 1470 the subject was trade with Flanders.[294] In June 1479 the discussion centred on the repopulation of Arras, whose inhabitants had been expelled after a revolt; Bourges was ordered to contribute one hundred forty artisans towards the goal of three thousand colonist families.[295] In February 1482 (n. st.) Bourges sent Jacques Avonssart and Petit-Jean de Montpellier to an assembly convened at Tours to consider

Louix XI's request for one hundred thousand livres to finance a fleet for the Levant. The representatives from Bourges agreed with the general consensus that such a project could not benefit the inland towns which already were impoverished and suffering from a grain shortage.[296]

The people of Bourges had been complaining of financial stress since the beginning of Louis' reign. A good part of the town was destroyed by fire in 1467, and reconstruction placed a heavy burden on the economy. A royal charter of 17 January 1474 (n. st.) refers to "la pauvrete et indigence du peuple" and

> des charges et oppressions quilz ont a souffrir tant a loccasion des guerres & divisions qui ont eu cours en notre Royaulme comme chacun frai commun aussi acause du feu qui a brule une des grans et la meilleur partie de la ville tous les chemins ponts chaussees et fosses dicelle a fontament pour reparation ... [297]

Clearly the repairs of the fortifications would be an expensive undertaking. The royal tax collector had become increasingly exigent; Commynes reported that whereas the taille under Charles VII was 1,800,000 francs per annum, under Louis XI it had swollen to a yearly rate of 4,700,000 francs.[298]

Special taxes to raise money for the maintenance of the town defences were the source of increasing resentment. Already before the fire their condition had given cause for concern. According to a petition presented to the king by the townspeople in 1464, in the past they had been responsible for making needed repairs as best they could, but now the municipal finances ("assiet communs") were inadequate to the task, and the bridges had become so unsound that they could no longer bear wheeled traffic. Accordingly Louis XI agreed to alleviate their financial distress by granting them for ten years the profit from every minot of salt sold at twenty deniers from the royal storehouses (once the gabelle and merchants' rights had been subtracted), to be devoted solely to the repair of the walls, gates, bridges, and causeways across the marshes. The town was required to render strict account to the officers of the king of the use it made of these monies.[299]

Evidently these revenues still did not meet the costs of maintenance, and in 1470 Louis XI ordered that a special tax be levied on the townspeople for this purpose: they were to " ... assembler ensemble et mectre asseoir et imposer sur eulx par egal portion le fort portant le faible ladite somme de quinze cens livres tournois pour une foiz ... " First four hundred livres tournois owed to the royal treasury were to be paid from the "deniers communs," with the remainder to be applied to the pressing repairs to the defences.[300]

Apparently by August 1471 the king was still very dissatisfied by the progress that had been made; tension was mounting in the three-corner situation with his brother Charles and the Duke of Burgundy, and the defences of the kingdom were expected to be in a state of readiness. Once again Louis made provisions to supplement the municipal treasury "de petite revenue" to make the urgent repairs necessary to the security of the town. For a period of ten years the townspeople, acting as merchants of the king, would furnish salt to the royal storehouses of Bourges, using the profits therefrom for the work on the fortifications.[301]

In February of the following year another tax was imposed on the people of the town and faubourgs, this time to furnish a contingent of thirty-two horses, four wagons, and eight men to the king at Châteaulevant. The sum of 280 livres tournois for these expenses had to be raised by an extraordinary tax levied on every inhabitant, each according to his means, and by the revenues from the municipal wine tax.[302]

In a letter of Louis XI dated 17 October 1473 we learn indirectly of yet another contribution the citizens of Bourges had to make to the royal treasury for an unknown reason: " ... Touchant les VI^{C} escuz que ceulx de Bourges doivent de reste, ilz avoient promis de les paier; toutevoies, j'envoie maistre Loys Toustain avec ung executoire pour les contraindre à les paier ... "[303]

To the inhabitants of Bourges the exactions of their royal master seemed unending. Already in 1473 there had been some agitation against the oppressive tax burden.[304] It has been commonly assumed that it was the imposition of the tax known as the barrage early in 1474 which was the breaking point.[305] This is not strictly correct. Apparently the barrage in some form had been levied some time before, since in August 1473 a case was brought before the bailli of Bourges by Jean Gaulteon, "fermier du barrage de la porte dauron," who charged that Ryon de la Fons had refused to pay the required tax of 7 s. 6 d. tournois for his wagonload of woad (guède), a blue dye used in the local cloth industry.[306]

This groundswell of resistance erupted into violence only after Louis XI imposed new exactions in January of the following year in what must have been an elaborated form of the barrage. Once again referring to the lack of financial resources of the municipality, which "nest de soi fondue en rentes ne deniers communs que bien peu et que ne ... peuvent souffrir a faire lesdits repparement [des] fortifications ... ," the king ordered that certain taxes be levied "a prendre tant sur le ble moulu & manouvre par les boulangers de ladite ville et aussi sur le vin guarde et autres marchandises vendues en entrens en ladite ville ... "[307]

Despite a public assembly in which a majority agreed to have the tax implemented,[308] finally on Saturday 23 April 1474 the tensions culminated in street riots directed against the tax collectors and royal officials, when

> ... aucuns foulons vignerons bolangiers et aultres gens de mestier et menu populaire batirent et mutillerent honorable homme et saige maistre Philippe Bouet subsitut du procureur du Roy nostredit seigneur audit bailliage en exercant son office et faisant informacion touchant certains exces et ranconneries par eulx faicte a la personne de Jehan Bonnelune auquel comme au plus offrant et derrenier encherisseur a este baillee et estroussee la ferme de barraige ... en levant ou voulant lever ladite ferme et avecques ce sur le meurtre et omicide par eulx commis par partie de la personne feu maistre Francoys Lesguillier lequel est avecques ledit procureur ledit our ... [309]

Another mob attacked Gilles Milon, lieutenant of the Grosse Tour.[310]

On April 26th an assembly of the prominent bourgeois of the town was called by the lieutenant of the bailli Jean de Moranvilliers to determine a course of action to contain the revolt before the wrath of the king was provoked. The meeting split into two camps. Etienne Galant, lieutenant of the bailli in the royal conservatory of the university, and Guillaume de Sauzay, one of the four "commis au gouvernement de la ville," were the most vocal of those who advocated that "on y doit aller a main armee et en belle facon que la force en demeure au Roy et que justice soit obeye." Others, including Pierre Tullier (royal avocat fiscal in Berry), Pierre Favrebource, Etienne de la Vergne, Pierre Maublant, Jean Bouet, Philippon la Loe, Guillaume Fradet, and Jean de Fleur (lieutenant general of the bailli) were alarmed at plans for the merchants and bourgeois to raise an armed force to combat the insurgents, urging instead that "on se informe sur ledit case le plus toust plus amplement et secretement que on pourra et au surplus que lon ne doit point aller a main forte sans lauctorite de Roy."[311] This moderate stance was highly displeasing to the king when he was informed of it; he ordered an inquiry into "ceulx de la mauvaise oppinion que oppinierent que non alast point a main armee contre les deslinquans."[312] Eventually it was decided that de Sauzay should provide local assistance to de Fleur in order to arrest the "plus coppaibles delinquans," who would then be interrogated by royal officials.[313]

The autocratic Louis XI was furious at the insurrection which he regarded as a criminal conspiracy. On April 29th he appointed a commission headed by Imbert du Bouchage, a particularly trusted servant, and further consisting of his chamberlain the Sire du Fou, his counsellors Guillaume Allegrin, Jean deCauvriel, and Guillaume de Vitry, and Jean Colletier, an examiner in the court of Châtelet at Paris. The commissioners were given full powers to investigate the revolt, being instructed not to hesitate to arrest even the Archbishop of Bourges, or members of his clergy or of the university; the prisoners were to be treated as traitors charged with the crime of lèse-majesté[314] (See Appendix B).

Even though Louis had confided the task of enquiry to some of his most capable servants, he could not rest easy, and for the next two months a plethora of further instructions and questions arrived in Bourges by royal messengers. The commissioners' first task was to imprison Jean de Blet (a former royal _procureur_), his brother Guillaume (licensed in law), Jean de la Berthonnière (an elected town official in 1469), Guillaume Sardé (formerly lieutenant general of the _bailli_), and Martin Anjorrant (a wealthy banker in Bourges who had been Receiver General of _aides_ in Normandy and later Master of the _Monnaies_ for Guyenne, in the service of Duke Charles); Louis was convinced, on what grounds is unknown, that they had masterminded the revolt.[315]

The commissioners accompanied by troops entered Bourges on May 6th,[316] and began to fill the Grosse Tour with their prisoners. The king wanted to strengthen his military presence in Bourges to suppress any further disturbances; on May 2nd and June 2nd he increased the number of archers and cross-bowmen in the Grosse Tour.[317] On May 12th he ordered that six hundred livres be used to employ as many sergeants as possible, at wages of four francs a month, who would accompany the prévôt on his duties "pour prandre ceulx qui feront quelque bruit et pour tenir ceulx de la ville en subgection affin quilz ne facent plus de rebellions." The sum required was to come from the transfer of the prévôté of Bourges to Raoulet Castello from the incumbent de Millandre, who would be recompensed for his losses.[318]

These sergeants were kept occupied carrying out the "griefve pugnition" which Louis had ordered be meted out without mercy.[319] In keeping with the maxim that justice must be seen to be done, the townspeople were treated to the grisly sight of the corpses of the rebels swaying in front of their own doorways, where they remained for one day by order of the king so that "les autres en pregnent exemple."[320] The town was forced to pay fifty livres tournois from its coffers to cover the expenses of executing the culprits.[321] The executioner of the high justice, Etienne de Sancerre, received fifteen livres tournois for his labours.[322]

Jean Bureau, a local bourgeois, was appointed by du Bouchage to keep the accounts of the fines and confiscations levied on the delinquents, which by his calculations totalled 2353 l. 17 s. 6 d.

tournois "pourveu que tout soit paye"; 760 livres tournois had been paid by the time he closed his accounts.[323] No sooner had the collection of this sum begun than the king started to spend it for the salaries of members of his household.[324] Several local people were employed to assist the commissioners and their sergeants,[325] and the town crier and the trumpeter were called into service to inform the public of the progress of the repressive measures.[326]

The fear of further civil violence is present in each of Louis XI's directives to his commissioners. He showed particular concern for the fate of the five prominent citizens who had been arrested and imprisoned in the Grosse Tour; on May 27th he ordered that they be removed to the more secure château at Montargis, where they were to be "bien enferrez et separez les ungs des autres" and closely guarded at their own expense.[327] They were joined in captivity by eleven other bourgeois who had incurred the royal displeasure by their supposed laxity in suppressing the disorder.[328] Two of the suspects, Pion Esterlin and Fulgent Huote, had evaded arrest, and so their womenfolk were imprisoned in their stead.[329] Apparently the prison conditions at Montargis were unhealthy, since a memo probably written by one of the commissioners suggests that the king be warned that "len se meurt a Montargis et savoir sil luy plaist lesdits prisonniers estre mis ailleurs comme a Meleun et Corbueil pour la seurete des personnes."[330] The suggestion went unheeded by Louis, and the prisoners remained incarcerated in the château at Montargis.

On June 11th thirteen of these prisoners or their proxies were summonsed to trial on Wednesday June 17th and the days following to answer for their part in the revolt.[331] Royal officers were also implicated in the sedition; on May 27th Pierre Tullier, fiscal advocate to the bailli of Berry, was suspended from office and committed to trial because he "ne se soit aucunement emploie a obvier ala rebellion commotion et assemblee du peuple ... "[332] The outcome of these trials is unknown, but probably the sentences entailed dismissal from office, heavy fines and perhaps even capital punishment, although in the latter case such a stir would have been created that the records would not likely have remained silent.

The impression one gains from perusing the records of the revolt is that Louis XI overestimated the magnitude of this challenge to his regal authority. He was convinced that the violence, rather than being a spontaneous popular outburst of frustration at the barrage, was a premeditated conspiracy on the part of the leading citizens of the town. He instructed du Bouchage " ... informez vous bien s'il n'ya nulz des gros qui soient consentans de l'emoction; car les povres ne l'ont pas fait d'eulx mesmes."[333] Since accounts of the trials at Montargis have not survived, it is difficult to pronounce upon the accuracy of the king's surmise. However, all the extant records relate the punishment of the "menu peuple," the bakers, the vineyard labourers, the workers in the cloth industry, and others of their class for whom taxation was the most onerous charge. The royal sergeants confiscated and auctioned off the possessions of twenty culprits, for amounts as little as 61 s. 4 d.; only two men lost property evaluated at one hundred livres or more, with the great majority at a value of less than ten livres. For many of those inflicted with fines, sums as little as ten livres or even one hundred sous were beyond their means. The bakers seem to have played a leading role in instigating the revolt, as theirs is almost the only trade repeatedly specified in the lists of penalties, and they seem to have suffered the heaviest fines (see Appendix B). On 10 August 1474 Louis XI by especial grace reduced by half the fines of eight bakers who were destitute as a consequence of the revolt.[334] It is likely therefore that the tradespeople were those most responsible for the civil disorder, while the more socially prominent citizens were guilty only insofar as they were reluctant to engage in armed repression and may have harboured some unvoiced sympathy for the rioters.

Apart from those individuals who were reduced to penury for their active participation in the riots, the townspeople as a whole paid dearly for having offended the king. Directly or indirectly, all expenses for the "reformation" of the town were borne by the municipality. Bureau recorded the payment of two hundred *livres tournois* for the salary of du Bouchage, 449 *livres tournois* for the salaries of the other commissioners (at the rate of sixty *sous tournois* per day), and 118 *livres tournois* for the wages of those employed to assist them. Bureau himself was paid 141 *livres tournois* for his services, plus forty *livres tournois* for his journey to Paris to present his accounts. These payments seem to have been made out of the revenues from the confiscations and fines imposed.[335] In addition to the commissioners' accounts kept by Bureau, we have the municipal financial records from 21 June 1474 to April 1475 compiled by the *échevin* Pierre de la Loe during the period when the post of "Receveur des deniers communs" remained vacant after the discharge of several civic officials.[336] Du Bouchage received fine hundred *écus* for his expenses and his lodging at the inn of the Trois Rois, a debt for which the new town officials were held personally responsible.[337] The host of the Trois Rois, Guillaume Baugars, also was owed 92 l. 5s. 9 d. tournois for lodging five other commissioners and notaries.[338] Ten livres tournois were paid to the notary and clerk assigned to the commissioners.[339]

These and other debts connected with the operation of the enquiry were absorbed by the general fine of three thousand livres Bourges was also required to pay the king. From June to August tax collectors methodically canvassed each of the four quartiers to raise the sum demanded.[340] As if this were not enough, in January of the following year Louis XI imposed an even more massive taille of ten thousand livres to atone for Bourges' contumacy during the War of the Public Weal almost ten years before.[341]

Thus Bourges emerged from its flirtation with civil protest with its prosperity considerably diminished. The devastating fire a decade later was to weaken further the town's economy to the point of stagnation until well into the twentieth century. There was yet another direct consequence of the 1474 revolt which signalled the end of Bourges' medieval heyday. For at least the past century the people of Bourges had enjoyed a limited degree of autonomy in conducting their internal affairs, annually electing a representative from each quartier to administer municipal business. Louis XI seized upon the opportunity presented by the revolt to abolish this rudimentary self-government, thoroughly restructuring the municipal framework so as to ensure complete domination of the town by the Crown.

As early as the 12 May 1474 the king had decided to establish a mayor and twelve échevins (similar to modern town counsellors) whose appointment was controlled by the king following the model of Tours.[342] On May 27th a royal edict formally instituted the échevinage for the "bon ordre police union & gouvernemen," appointing Philippe Bouer as the first mayor, with Nicole de Gannay, Jean de l'Hospital, Robinet Bartard, Pierre de la Loe, Jacquet Godard, Jean Bouer, Jean Georges, Colin Georges, Pierre Bouin, Claude Vallée, Thomas de Janoillac, and Guillaume de Sauzay as échevins.[343] The former governmental system was abolished in its entirety, "en ostant deschargeant et deboutant les quatre [élus] & tous autres qui ont par cy devant este commis au regime & gouvernement de ladite ville."[344] Du Bouchage was instructed to summon a public assembly at Notre Dame de la Contal to witness the oaths of loyalty sworn by the new officials.[345]

The edict was singularly reticent as to how this new form of government was to function, so the bewildered échevins commissioned one of their number, Thomas de Janoillac, to request a more detailed constitution from the king.[346] Louis' reply was, in essence, that the échevinage at Bourges should imitate that at Tours and La Rochelle (see Appendix B). Accordingly, the town fathers dispatched clerks to their sister towns to make full copies of their statutes, privileges and tax structures.[347]

The new mayor and échevins, probably mollified by their ennoblement upon the assumption of their new duties (a favourite tactic of Louis XI), proved to be docile servants of the king. As Sée has observed in a more general context, Louis had only to gain control of the town magistrates to ruin effectively what municipal liberties remained.[348] Work resumed immediately on the repairs to the fortification, the issue which had ignited the whole affair.[349]

Despite these efforts to regain favour with Louis XI, the events of 1465 and 1474 had instilled in him a deep distrust of the loyalty of the inhabitants of Bourges. Apparently in 1478 there was renewed agitation in the town, prompted by a reform of the gabelle.[350] This time Louis XI would not tolerate the slightest hint of opposition. On the 11 April 1478 he appointed a resident governor of Bourges and the surrounding region

> ... pour tenir en totalle securete notre ville de Bourges et la preserver et garder de plusieurs entreprises machinations et conspirations ... ainsi que par cy devant a este fait ... Aussi pour entretenir et traicter les habitans en icelle et semblablement le pays denviron en toute justice et amour.

For this task Louis chose the harsh disciplinarian Imbert du Bouchage, an all too familiar face in Bourges. The governor's authority was to supersede that of the royal and municipal officials and justices in the area.[351] The king wished to ensure that his forces in the town could not again be taken by surprise by a popular uprising; on the 13 April 1478 he ordered du Bouchage to prepare the Grosse Tour against any "mauvaises et damnables entreprises," the townpeople being ordered to supply "des blez vins chairs set et autres vivres et choses necessaires pour ledit advitaillement ... "[352]

With this meek submission to the autocratic will of Louis XI we close our survey of Bourges through four centuries of royal lordship. From an obscure market town dominated by clerics in the twelfth century, Bourges survived the vicissitudes of war to rise to national prominence as the capital of the dynamic Duke of Berry. The town then acquired heroic renown as the refuge of the hapless Charles VII. The majestic cathedral, the luxurious hôtels of Jacques Coeur, the Cujas and the Lallemant families, and the many fine examples of late medieval architecture surviving in the heart of the town, all bear witness to the affluence and civic pride of the citizens of Bourges during its heyday. But the geographic advantages and the political circumstances which had created this prosperity were not applicable in Renaissance France. In the sixteenth century the capital of Berry retired to economic and political obscurity which it is still struggling to surmount today. But the historian at least is grateful for this dormant provincialism which has preserved the medieval atmosphere which is the charm of modern Bourges.

Footnotes

[1] Eudes Arpin, son of Humbaud, lord of Dun in Berry, was *vicomte* of Bourges in the right of his wife Mahaud, daughter of Gilon de Sully, a prominent Berrichon family. See A. LePrévost, note to Orderici Vitalis, *Historiae Ecclesiastica* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1852) 4: 119 n. 2. The marriage was without issue, which doubtless prompted Arpin to sell the *vicomté* rather than allow it to revert to the Crown later.

[2] "Rex [Philip I] autem videns dominium suum per insolentiam praedecessorum suorum esse diminutum et fere adnihilatum, cupiensque illud reaugere . . . ." Aimon, *De Gestis Francorum*, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (hereafter cited as *RHGF*); ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1876) 11: 157-158.

[3] The actual date of the transaction is uncertain. The chronicler of Vezelay gives the date as 1065, which seems too early (*Chronicon Vezeliacensi*, *RHGF* 11: 385). Louis Raynal cites a charter in the Cartulaire A of St. Sulpice signed by Eudes Arpin as *vicomte* of Bourges, dated June 1097, so this would be the earliest date possible for the sale (*Histoire du Berry depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'en 1789* [hereafter cited as *HB*], 4 vols. [Bourges-Paris, 1845-47] 2:393). When Philip I visited Bourges in October 1102 he had already taken possession of the town (*Ordonnances des Rois de France de la troisième race jusqu'en 1514* [hereafter cited as *Ordonnances*] 21 vols. plus 1 supplementary vol. [Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1823-49] supplementary vol.: 156). So Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier are clearly incorrect in giving the date as 1106 (*Le Domaine: Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge* [Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957-62] 2: Book 2, 109). Ordericus Vitalis states the date as 1101, which appears to be the most likely (*Historiae Ecclesiastica* 4: 119). See also Augustin Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier, Roi de France (1060-1108)* (Paris: Société française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1912), 150-151.

[4] *Chronicon Regum Francorum*, *RHGF* 11: 394.

[5] *Chronicon Vezeliacensi*, *RHGF* 11: 385.

[6] Aimon, *De Gestis Francorum*, *RHGF* 11: 157-158. See also Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)*, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (London: Macmillan & Co., 1960), 140.

[7] Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, 151-152.

[8] M. Prou, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, Roi de France (1059-1108)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1908), 360-362; *Ordonnances*, supplementary vol.: 156.

[9] Hippolyte Boyer, *Dictionnaire topographique de la France* (Paris, 1926), 60.

[10] Ferdinand Lot, *Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontant à la période gallo-romaine*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1945-54): 8.

[11] Julius Caesar, *Commentarii Rerum in Gallia Gestarum* 6.15.2-8, 6.28.15-18.

[12] *Ex Adrevaldi Floriacensis Miraculis S. Benedicti*, *Monumenta Germania Historica Scriptorum*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1887; reprint ed. Stuttgart-New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963) 15, Part 1: 495.

[13] Henri Jongleux, *Exposition universelle de Paris (1878): Ville de Bourges (Cher): Service de la voirie urbaine* Part I: *Notice Historique* (unpublished manuscript: Bibliothèque Municipale de Bourges, manuscrit 586 [1]), fol. 10.

[14] Caesar, *Commentarii Rerum*, 6.15,6-8.

[15] Nicole Szotman, "Bourges, étude de population urbaine," *Annales de géographie* 454 (Nov.-Dec., 1973), 696.

[16] Ibid., 696.

[17] Dietrich Claude, *Topographie und Verfassung der Städte Bourges und Poitiers bis in das XI. Jahrhundert*, Historischen Studien, 380 (Lübeck-Hambourg, 1960), 108-109.

[18] N. de Nicolay, *Description générale du paiis et duché de Berry* (1567; reprint ed. Châteauroux: A. Aupetit, 1883), 17-18.

[19] "Articles présentés au Conseil du roi, par les habitants de Bourges, pour montrer que les foires de Lyon doivent être établies en leur ville, vers 1484," *HB* 3: pièce justificative no. 9, 525.

[20] Arch. Mun. HH 25. Letter of Charles VII appointing a commission to compile statutes for the cloth industry in Bourges (9 July 1443).

[21] *HB* 3: pièce justificative no. 9, 527.

[22] Arch. Mun. CC 533, no. 2.

[23] Etienne Taillemite, *La Vie économique et sociale à Bourges de 1450 à 1560* (unpublished thesis for the Ecole des Chartes, 1948), 121.

[24] Claude, *Topographie*, 43; Hippolyte Boyer, *Les Enceintes de Bourges* (Bourges, 1889), 67, 89.

[25] Paul Gauchery, *Notre Vieux Bourges* (3rd. ed., Bourges: Desquand et Fils, 1949), 9. See also Hippolyte Boyer, *Le Château-lès-Bourges* (Bourges: M. H. Sire, 1890).

[26] A list compiled about 1100 of the division of revenues between the *vicarius* and the lord of Bourges mentions a penalty of sixty *sous* for a house constructed in the streets or which "transierit per murum civitatis." "De Vicario Biturice Urbis," pub. Louis de Kersers, "Essai de reconstitution du Cartulaire A de Saint-Sulpice de Bourges," *MSAC* 35

(1912), no. 131: 232-236.

[27] A. Buhot de Kersers, Histoire et statistique monumentale du Département du Cher, 8 vols. (Bourges: Camille Tripault, 1883), 337.

[28] Ibid., 208.

[29] Claude, Topographie, 155.

[30] Cartulaire de la Charité-sur-Loire, no. 48, 122; quoted by ibid., 157 n. 1598.

[31] ". . . plateam illiam qui est ante ecclesiam Beati Stephani juxta domum Boni-Hominis cantoris dedimus et concedimus ut in ea domum edificaret." HB 2: pièce justificative no. 26, 543.

[32] In the tenth century Liudprand of Cremona gave an excellent definition of the burgus: "ipsi domorum congregationem, quae muro non clauditur, burgum vocant." Quoted by Traute Edemann, Markturkunde und Markt in Frankreich und Burgund vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert (Constance-Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 1964), 130.

[33] Claude, Topographie, 190.

[34] Ibid., 189.

[35] Ibid., 76.

[36] Guy Devailly, Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe: étude politique, religieuse, sociale et économique (Paris: Mouton, 1973), 386.

[37] A charter of Louis VI the Fat, dated 1124, described the bourg as the "burgum canonicorum qui est ante murum biturice civitatis inquo et sita est ecclesia Sancti Ursini . . . ." Arch. Cher 14G 233.

[38] Buhot de Kersers, Statistique Monumentale, 229.

[39] Claude, Topographie, 160.

[40] "Si quis vero juxta ipsam calciatum in terra sancti Petri sanctique Ambrosii domum ad manendum construxerit . . . ." pub. Prou, Actes de Philippe Ier, 367 no. 145.

[41] Thus in a charter regarding the privileges of St. Ambroix on the 16 October 1102, Philip I confirmed the acts of "Gauzefredus, vicecomes Bituricae," Arpin's predecessor. (Ibid., 362.) It became customary for Philip's immediate successors to emphasize the continuity in charters of confirmation, using such stock phrases as "quo ipsa tenuit tempore Gaufredi vicecomitis Biturice civitatis et Ordonis arpini alios et quibus predecessoribus nostris et Philippi patris nostri . . . concessum et confirmatum . . . ." Arch. Cher 14G 233, charter of Louis VI, 1124.

[42] Achille Luchaire, Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens (987-1180), 2 vols. (2nd revised and augmented ed. Paris, 1891; reprint ed. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), 2: 255. See also P. Ninglat, "Etablissement de l'autorité royale dans le Berry," Revue des sociétés savantes, 2nd series, 1 (1859): 195-211.

[43] Luchaire, Louis VI le Gros: Annales de sa vie et de son règne (1081-1137) (Paris, 1890; reprint ed. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), lxxxiii-lxxxiv; 29, no. 55; 31-32, no. 58; 147, nos. 317, 318. See also HB 2: 5. Raynal is incorrect in stating that this army was directed against Duke William IX of Aquitaine; doubtless he was confused because the Duke intervened to invoke the feudal law on behalf of his vassal, the Count of Auvergne. See Luchaire, Louis le Gros, 170-171, no. 369.

[44] Luchaire, Louis le Gros, lxxxiv.

[45] The existence of this charter is known only through the preamble to the 1145 charter of Louis VII, which states: "Quia Bituris veniens Genitor noster venerendae memoriae Ludovicus, pravas quasdam Consuetudines quae ibi tenebantur Bituricensis, tam Cleri quam Populi submissis precibus exhortatus, consilio Volgrini, tunc temporis Archiepiscopi, pro amelioratione praedictae Civitatis benignitate Regia relaxare & emendare curavit." Gaspard Thaumas de la Thaumassière, Les Anciennes et Nouvelles Coutumes locales de Berry et celles de Lorris commentées (hereafter cited as CL) (Bourges: Jean Toubeau, 1674), 62-63. The reference to Archbishop Vulgrin narrows the dates of the charter to between 1120 and 1136, the period of his incumbency. See Luchaire, Etude sur les actes de Louis VII. Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens (Mémoires et documents) (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1885), 145, no. 140, n. 1.

[46] Luchaire, Institutions monarchiques 1: 177-179.

[47] Ibid., 170-175.

[48] In 1137, 1138, 1141, 1142, 1145, 1158, 1159 (twice), 1160, 1162, 1163, 1168, 1169 (twice), 1170, 1172, 1174, 1178. Luchaire, Actes de Louis VII, 62-68; Marcel Pacaut, Louis VII et son royaume, Bibliothèque générale de l'Ecole Practique des Hautes Etudes (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 47.

[49] Orderici Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica 5: 102.

[50] HB 2: 17. Lot claims that the ceremony was to crown Eleanor of Aquitaine, Louis VII's new spouse, but Orderic clearly states that it was Louis himself who was crowned (Recherches sur la population, 16).

[51] Luchaire, Institutions monarchiques 1: 73-74.

[52] Ibid., 73. Samson, the Archbishop of Reims, lost his pallium for

crowning the king outside his own province, thereby contravening the time-honoured rights of the Archbishop of Bourges. This alone would indicate a well-established tradition of secondary coronations. The rights of the metropolitan of Bourges were vindicated later when Louis VII was crowned at Rome by Pierre de la Châtre, Archbishop of Bourges. See HB 2: 17.

[53] Epistolae Sugerii Abbatis S. Dionysii, RHGF 15: 502-503, no. 55; Epistolae Petri Bituricensis Archiepiscopi, RHGF 15: 703, no. 2.

[54] "Ecclesia Sancti Laurentii Bituricensis ab antecessoribus nostris fundata et regii existens juris habebat ante Palatium nostrum ecclesiam quandam in honore Sancti Johannis . . . ." (Cartulaire de Saint-Satur, fol. 289 (now destroyed), pub. in HB 2: 537; indicated by Luchaire, Actes de Louis VI, 229, no. 401. This location is confirmed by a letter of Cardinal William who accompanied Pope Alexander to Bourges in 1163: "Illius pauperis ecclesie S. Johannio Evangeliste que juxta palatium vestrum apud Bituricas sita est . . . ." (RHGF 16: 58).

[55] Buhot de Kersers, Statistique monumentale 2: 270.

[56] For a duscussion of the conflict, see Pacaut, Louis VII, 42-44, 68-69.

[57] Ibid., 41 n. 5.

[58] Marcel Aubert, Suger (Abbaye S. Wandrille: Editions de Fontenelle, 1950), 100-101.

[59] RHGF 15: 513 n. (a); Aubert, Suger, 104.

[60] Letter by Suger to Raoul de Vermandois: "De Wendone vero de Herembrachen, quem ad muniendam et custodiendam turrim Bituricensem miseramus, dilectione vestrae significamus praepositos Bituricenses et Cadurcum ei turrim negasse . . . ." A. Lecoy de la Marche, ed., Oeuvres complètes de Suger (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1867), 262.

[61] See the letter from Cadurc to Rotrou de Perche, Epistolae Sugerii no. 78, RHGF 15: 512-513; Lot, Recherches sur la population, 17.

[62] ". . . mandamus vobis ut Comiti Rod. literis vestris significetis . . . in quo habent: Ego Comes Rod. mando tibi Cadurco, ut non reddas turrim Bituricensem alicui homini, sicut jurasti mihi, nisi vel hominibus meis. [Emphasis in text.] De caetero, sciatis quod nos amici vestri sumus, et civitas vestra Biturica, vestra est, si hoc faciatis, et si nos manutenere vultis, ..." RHGF 15: 512-513.

[63] Aubert, Suger, 103-104.

[64] CL, 62-63. The provisions of this charter will be discussed in Chapter II.

[65] Devailly, Le Berry, 405.

[66] Renouard, "Institutions du duché d'Aquitaine," 165. Henry claimed that the moribund Archbishop of Bourges, Pierre de la Châtre, had summoned his clerks and several citizens of Bourges to bear witness to this statement: "O fratres mei carissimi in Domino, scitote quoniam [*sic*] civitas ista Bituricensis spectat ad ducatum Aquitaniae et de jura illius est. Et si postmodum quaestio inde orta fuerit inter regem Franciae et heredes Pictaviae, testimonium perhibete veritati." (Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. William A. Stubbs [*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* no. 49] [London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1867; Kraus Reprint, 1965] 1: 10-11). The authenticity of this testimony is doubtful; firstly, it is reported only by an English chronicler, and secondly, Pierre de la Châtre had a long-standing record of loyal service to Louis VII and seems to have been no partisan of Henry, since he had welcomed the disgraced Thomas à Becket to Bourges in 1165 and had pleaded his cause before the papal legates. (Devailly, *Le Berry*, 407.)

[67] Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Henrici Secundi* 1: 10.

[68] Ibid., 1: 10.

[69] Ibid., 1: 11.

[70] Pacaut makes the point that Louis VII could not possibly have been party to such a cession, since Bourges was one of the principal towns of his domain; Henry was merely seeking a pretext to break the peace. (*Louis VII*, 213-214.)

[71] A. Buhot de Kersers, *Essai sur l'architecture militaire et féodale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles dans le Département du Cher* (Bourges: E. Pigelet, 1877), 8; Devailly, *Le Berry*, 427; Claude, *Topographie*, 163. Boyer may be rather early in dating the new fortifications to between 1140 and 1150 (*Les Enceintes de Bourges* [Bourges, 1889], 137).

[72] Arch. Cher AA 2, fols. 1-3 (1652 copy of Louis VIII's confirmation of this charter in 1224); *CL*, 68-69; *Ordonnances* 11: 222-223; A. Giry, *Documents sur les relations de la royauté avec les villes en France, de 1180 à 1314* (Paris, 1885), 1-5, no. 1; *et al*.

[73] Arch. Cher AA 2, fol. 1-3.

[74] Lot, *Recherches sur la population*, 74. For further details on the fortifications, see Boyer, *Enceintes*; A. Buhot de Kersers, "L'Enceinte dite de Philippe Auguste à Bourges," *MSAC* 3 (1869): 47-65; idem, *Statistique monumentale* 2; Paul Chenu, *Les Vues anciennes de Bourges* (Extract from *MSAC*, 2nd series, vol. 36) (Bourges: Tardy-Pigelet & Fils, 1914).

[75] Philippe Labbe, *Histoire du Berry abrégée dans l'éloge panégyrique de la ville de Bourges* (1643; 2nd ed. Paris, 1840), 57; Boyer *Enceintes*, 158; Buhot de Kersers, "Enceinte dite de Philippe Auguste," 60.

[76] Guy Devailly *et al*., *Le Diocèse de Bourges* (Paris: Letouzy &

Ané, 1973), 48. In 1226 the papal legate Romain de Saint Ange convoked a *concilium* at Bourges to discuss preparations and strategy for the second crusade against the Albigensians. (*Ex chronico S. Stephani Cadomensis*, *RHGF* 18: 349). In May 1226 the crusaders summoned by Louis VIII assembled in Bourges (*HB* 2: 213; Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII [1187-1226]* [Paris, Emile Bouillon, 1894], 276, 295). Apparently in 1240 another *concilium* was held in Bourges under the auspices of Louis IX and Cardinal Praestinus, resulting in another foray into Albigensian territory; the only source reporting this council is the Chronicle of Albericus (Johannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio* [Paris: Hubert Welter, 1903; reprint ed. Graz: Akademische Druck, 1961] 23: 520). See also Jean Gaudemet, "La vie conciliaire en France," *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge* 3, Bk. 2: 315.

[77] *Extraits des Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, *RHGF* 21: 116. As well as the chronicler of Saint Denis, the excesses of the Pastoureaux at Bourges are described with great relish by John of Parma (?) in a letter to Adam de Marsh (*Annales monasterii de Burton 1104-1263*, *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores* no. 36, 1: 290-293); *Chronique de Primat, traduite par Jean du Vignay*, *RHGF* 23: 8-10; Matthew of Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, 9 vols., *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores* no. 44, 3: 112, 321; idem, *Chronica Majora*, 7 vols., ibid., no. 57, 5: 246-253; H. Géraud, ed., *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1843), 1: 207-208. For secondary accounts, see *HB* 2: 233-239; Elie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille Reine de France* (Paris: Thorin & Fils, 1895), 399-400; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (1957; revised and expanded ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 94-98.

[78] Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 247.

[79] *Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, 115. Matthew of Paris elevates the figure to "centum milia et plures" (*Chronica Majora*, 248).

[80] Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 248.

[81] *Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, 115.

[82] Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 249.

[83] *Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, 115-116.

[84] Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 250.

[85] *Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, 116.

[86] Ibid., 116.

[87] Ibid., 116.

[88] Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 251.

[89] Annales de Burton, 291.

[90] Chroniques de Saint-Denis, 116.

[91] Chronique de Primat, 9-10.

[92] Guillaume de Nangis, Chronique, 208.

[93] Matthew of Paris, Chronica Majora, 251; see also Chronique de Primat, 10.

[94] Matthew of Paris, Chronica Majora, 252-254.

[95] Jean Chenu, Recueil des Antiquitez et Privileges de la Ville de Bourges et de Plusieurs autres Villes capitales du Royaume (Paris, 1621; first ed. 1603), 153; followed by La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry, 4 vols. (Bourges, 1965; first ed. 1689), 1: 59; 2: 75.

[96] "Inquisitio facta de mandato domini regine [Blanche of Castile] super combustione ville Bituricensis per manum nostrum et magistri fratrum minorum Bituricensium." Arch. Cher 3F 11 no. 33 (ms. copied by Charles Barbarin, Conservateur of the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, from a ms. in the Archives Nationales J 626 no. 147).

[97] A. Beugnot, Les Olim, ou Registres des Arrêts rendus par la cour du roi sous les règnes de Saint-Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis le Hutin, et de Philippe le Long (hereafter cited as Olim), 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1839-1848), 1: 436-439, no. 12; Emile Chenon, Les Jours de Berry au Parlement de Paris de 1255 à 1328 (Paris, 1919), 9.

[98] Ibid.

[99] See Branner, Cathédrale de Bourges, Chapter 2, 13-68 for a detailed historical account of the construction of St. Etienne.

[100] Devailly, Diocèse de Bourges, 58.

[101] Arch. Cher G 1 fols. 13-14 (eighteenth century copy): Arch. Cher 8G 278 fols. 1r^{o}-2v^{o} (seventeenth century copy); Bib. Nat. fonds français 18684 fol. 47r^{o}-48r^{o}; pub. with some inaccuracies in anon., Les Libertez Immunitez et Exemptions de l'église patriarchale primatiale et metropolitaine de Bourges (Paris, 1618), 26-32.

[102] To cite only one example, in 1333 Philip VI was requested to intervene in a rather trivial dispute regarding the clerk Jean de Montour who "a fait percer les murs dudit cloistre en voulant faire huis pour avoir entree & issue a une maison que il se dit avoir audit cloistre combien il y aie et ait eu de long [sic] temps autre entree & issue pour le quel nouvel eddifice se il estoit fait audit cloistre il seroit moult afaibliz et grand peril et dommage ..." The king ordered the bailli of Berry to remove the offending doorway forthwith (Arch. Cher 8G 280).

[103] See Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique monumentale* 2: 95-96.

[104] Canon Rousseau, "L'Ancien Chapitre de St. Etienne de Bourges" (unpublished typescript, 1951), 8-9.

[105] Claude, *Topographie*, 158.

[106] See the study by François Jacques, "Physionomie d'un quartier de Bourges et de la campagne proche au début du XIVe siècle d'après l'étude d'un censier du Prieuré Saint Fulgent de Bourges" (unpublished thesis, n.d.).

[107] Lot, *Recherches sur la population*, 18.

[108] See Georges Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Recueil Sirey, 1936), 2: 163-175; Georges Picot, Introduction to *Documents relatifs aux états généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1901), xi-xliv.

[109] Picot, *Etats généraux*, 326 no. CCLXXI.

[110] Devailly, *Diocèse de Bourges*, 60; Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, 12-13, 132.

[111] T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London: Constable & Co., 1933), 175.

[112] Picot, *Etats généraux*, 324-328 no. CCLXXI; 331-333 no. CCXXVII.

[113] Arch. Nat. J 415A no. 181; ibid., 662-663 no. DCCCCLXXXIII.

[114] *HB* 2: 281.

[115] Ibid., 2: 281; Lot, *Recherches sur la population*, 18.

[116] *HB* 2: 282; Lot, *Recherches sur la population*, 18.

[117] Arch. Cher 3F 11. Accounts of Hugues Gouhaut, *bailli* of Bourges (1304-1305). Fol. 7: "de subventione focorum a personis nobilis et ignobilis ballivi Bituricensis pro subsidio guerre Flandrie anno CCC° IIII° concessa 8349 l. 7 s. 3 d."

[118] *HB* 2: 587-588. Geoffrey of Paris also reports widespread crop failure in 1312, when "Fruiz faillirent, si com l'entens; / Aussi firent et blez et vins." *Chronique rimée*, *RHGF* 22: 133, lines 4528-4529.

[119] Jules Viard, *Les Journaux du Trésor de Philippe VI de Valois suivis de l'Ordinarium Thesauri de 1338-1339* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899), 263-265, nos. 1427-1435; 589, no. 3399.

[120] Bib. Nat. *fonds français* 20580. Recueil des pièces concernant la guerre avec les **Anglais**.

[121] See Françoise Lehoux, Jean de France, Duc de Berri: sa vie, son action politique (1340-1416) 4 vols. (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1966, 1967, 1968) 1: 56, 62; HB 2: 293.

[122] Froissart, Oeuvres: Chroniques, ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 25 vols. (first ed. 1867-1877; reprint ed. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1967) 5: 386; see also 17: 340-341.

[123] Treaty of Brétigny, Article 14; Thomas Rymer, Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter Reges Angliae et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices. Principes vel Communitates, (hereafter cited as Foedera) 18 vols. (London: A. & J. Churchill, 1704-1716) 6: 185.

[124] Ibid., 6: 187, Article 18. See also Froissart, Chroniques 6: 299-300.

[125] Pierre-Clément Timbal, et al., La Guerre de Cent Ans vue à travers les Registres du Parlement (1337-1369) (Paris: Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1961), 377.

[126] Letter of Edward III giving permission to the two hostages of Bourges to absent themselves from London for an entire month, dated the 5 June 1361. Foedera 6: 324.

[127] Letter of Edward III liberating "Reignant Fouriner" and "Pierre Chastiauneuf," 12 February 1365. Foedera 6: 461

[128] ". . . certum accordum et tractatus . . . completa fuissent et perfecta necnon dicti obsides et specialiter illi qui de bonis villis regni noster mitterentur, pro quolibet anno quo in Anglia morentur, pro suis expensis haberent occies centum libras turonensium, ultra omnes expensas eundo et redeundo, pro quibus expensis qualibet villa patrie unde dicti obsides erant ad certam summam peccunie taxata fuerat et specialiter dicta villa de Sancti Petri Monasterio ad centum libras turonensium . . . ; dicebant insuper quod villa Bituricensis et alii de patria predictos burgenses, ut essent obsides in Angliam, miserant et, licet per dictam ordinacionem per annum dumtaxat ibi remanere deberent, per tres annos et ultra ibi remanserant, ob deffectum solucionis dictorum habitancium de Sancti Petri Monasterio . . . ." Timbal, Guerre de Cent Ans, 414-416, no. CXIV.

[129] Ibid., 416.

[130] Louis Gueneau, Les **Sources** parisiennes de l'histoire du Berry: Archives Nationales, 2 vols. (Rennes, 1939, 1944) 1: 267.

[131] Ibid., 1: 267.

[132] Foedera 6: 178. John formally surrendered these lands on the 27 July 1361. (Ibid., 6: 321.) Article 15 of the treaty specified that John should remain in England as a hostage. (Ibid., 6: 185.)

[133] Chenu, *Recueil des Antiquitez*, 175-177 (note: pagination incorrect).

[134] *HB* 2: 282.

[135] *Ordonnances* 4: 137.

[136] Lehoux, *Jean de France* 1: 192, 209

[137] Froissart, *Chroniques* 7: 479; 8: 79. See also Lehoux, *Jean de France* 1: 226.

[138] Arch. Nat. KK 251 fol. 107v°. Household accounts of John Duke of Berry: " ... assignation faicte a plus. personnes de la ville de Bourges, ausq. il estoit deu pour la despense faicte a Bourges es moys dict. et de nov. MCCCLXIII pour la venue de mons. danjeu ... 109 fr. 12 s.t."; see also Lehoux, *Jean de France* 1: 318 no. 6.

[139] Geoffroi de Paris, *Chronique rimée*, 133 lines 4557-4595.

[140] John Bell Henneman, *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth-Century France: The Captivity and Ransom of John II, 1356-1370* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), 222.

[141] Froissart, *Chroniques* 7: 14.

[142] Arch. Nat. KK 252, fol. 25; see Lehoux, *Jean de France* 1: 326 and n. 6.

[143] Henneman, *Captivity*, 222.

[144] Arch. Mun. FF 22. "Item len ne souffera apasser ble audehors de la ville de Bourgs sanz la permission ou license dudit monseigneur le seneschal affin que ... [les] marchans nen ... peussent advitailher les anglois ou autres enveurs [i.e., envahisseurs] du royaume, ce ne sont aux jours du pais et que seront en viguerz ..." This ms. is in a very poor state of preservation, having served as a cover to a register. Consequently it is impossible to date with any certainty. On paeleographic evidence Boyer dated it to 1380, but René Lacour considers it more likely to date from 1412 when the English invaded Berry (*Le Gouvernement de l'apanage de Jean, Duc de Berry (1360-1416)* (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard, 1934), 193-194 n. 4).

[145] Arch. Mun. FF 22.

[146] *Foedera* 8: 738-742; François Morand, ed., *Chronique de Jean le Févre, Seigneur de Saint Rémy*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1876) 1: 56-61.

[147] Enguerrand de **Monstrelet**, *Chronique*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq, 6 vols. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1857-1862) 2:287.

[148] The 1512 siege of Bourges has been described by Lehoux, *Jean de France* 3: 258-274; *HB* 2: 472-480; Jacques d'Avout, *La Querelle des*

Armagnacs et des Bourguignons (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), 155-159. Among the chroniclers, the siege is described in great detail by Monstrelet, *Chronique* 2:270-290, and Pierre de Fénin, *Mémoires comprenant le récit des événements qui se sont passés sous les règnes de Charles VI et Charles VII* (1407-1427), ed. E. Dupont (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1837), 26-29. The siege proved to be a popular subject with the illuminators of manuscripts, although the renditions were highly imaginative; see Paul Chenu, *Notes pour une histoire de Bourges jusqu'en 1500 d'après les miniatures des manuscrits* (Bourges, 1945), 6-8 and plates 1, 2.

[149] Monstrelet, *Chroniques* 2: 271.

[150] Ibid., 2: 272-273.

[151] Pierre de Fénin (*Mémoires*, 27) reports that the dukes of Berry and Bourbon "povoient aller et venir quant il leur plaisoit; car le siège n'y fut oncques fermé fors par ung costé."

[152] Monstrelet, *Chronique* 2: 273.

[153] Ibid., 2: 274-276, 278-279.

[154] Ibid., 2: 262.

[155] Nicolas de Baye, *Journal d'un Greffier du Parlement de Paris 1400-1417*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1888), 2: 80; see also an *ordonnance* of the 27 August 1412, referring to the "povreté, mesaise et necessité, pour les trés excessives chaleurs et secheresses qui ont esté et encores sont par III mois et plus ... " (Ibid., 2: 84. See also Monstrelet, *Chronique* 2: 286, and L. Douët-d'Arcq, ed., *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VII*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1863) 1: 353-354, no. CLVI.)

[156] Pierre de Fénin, *Mémoires*, 28. The highly partisan Bourgeois of Paris relates that the fighting was so fierce "qu'en la place en demoura plus de sept vingts hommes de nom, tous morts, et foison prins, lesquels reconnurent qu'ils coidoient emmener le roy par force, et tuer le duc de Bourgogne; mais Dieu les en garda celle fois; ... " (*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous Charles VI et Charles VII*, ed. André Mary [Paris: Henri Jonquières, 1929], 53. See also Monstrelet, *Chronique* 2: 280-282.)

[157] Repairs started immediately, in August 1412; see Arch. Cher 8G 1952 fols. 1r°-8r° for the accounts of the Sainte Chapelle "pour reffaire a neuf les molins du bourc de Saint Prive les Bourges Et aussi repparellier la maconnerie de la grant maison ou estoient les cuves et pressores a vin assis audit bourc lesquieulx molins et maison avoient nagueres este arce et gastez pour le fait de la guerre par le temps que le roy nostre seigneur et plusiers autres grans seigneurs estoient devant et es environs de ladite ville de Bourges ... "

[158] Monstrelet, *Chronique* 2: 284.

[159] Pierre de Fénin, *Mémoires*, 28. "Et pour ce temps le pais de Berry fut fort gasté par les gens du Roy et ceux au duc Jehan de Bourgoingne."

[160] Monstrelet, *Chronique* 2: 284-288.

[161] d'Avout, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons*, 159; Lacour, *Gouvernement de l'apanage*, 194 n. 4.

[162] For example, the inhabitants of the parish of St. Aoustrille were granted forty gold *écus* to assist in repairing the bell and the church, which probably had been damaged during the siege of 1412 (Arch. Nat. KK 250 fols. 31v°-32r°). In 1372 John had installed a large clock, similar to the one donated by Charles V to the Palais Royal at Paris, on the gable of the cathedral between the two towers to tell the workers in the vineyards the time to halt their labours, at a cost of four hundred *francs*. (Arch. Nat. KK 251, fol. 66; see also Lehoux, *Jean de France* 1: 273; Gaston Wimbée, *Histoire du Berry des origines à 1790* [Paris, 1954], 119.) St. Etienne also benefited from the gift of a pedal organ and a handsome chapel, as well as various renovations to its fabric (Wimbée, *Histoire du Berry*, 119).

[163] Jules Guiffrey, ed., *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry (1401-1416)* 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894) 1: lxxxv.

[164] In 1370 John moved his family into the archbishop's palace, which required renovations: "A Pierre le Verrier pour appareillier les verrieres de loustel dudit archivesque ... " (21 October 1371); "A mestre Colin de Villars, mestre des euvres de charpenterie [de] monseigneur pour plusieurs parties quil a paiees pour les reparations necessaires en loustel de larcevesque de Bourges ouquel monseigneur et ma dame sont venu faire leur demourance ... " (30 September 1371); "A mestre Colin de Villars ... pour plusieurs parties de marrainge [wood for construction] et ovrages quil a mis et fais oudit hostel ... " (26 October 1373) (Arch. Nat. KK 251; see also Guiffrey, *Inventaires* 1: lxxxvi.)

[165] Debts incurred between 1 November 1397 and 28 February 1398. "Autres debtes dehues ou pais de Berry ... a loste du Grand Chapeau Roge nomme Denis lostellier pour losteillaige de .x. chevaulx et vi liz ... A Jehan du Liz semblablement pour losteillaige de .v. chevaux et ii liz ... a loste du Petit Chapeau Roge ... " "A loste de lescu de Bretaigne semblablement pour le foin et avene de vi chevaux ... " (Arch. Nat. KK 253, fol. 80; see also Lehoux, *Jean de France* 2: 392).

[166] For further information on the ducal palace, see Paul Gauchery, "Le Palais du duc Jean et la Sainte Chapelle de Bourges: Nouveaux documents sur leur état primitif, leur mutilation ou leur destruction," *MSAC* 39 (1919-1920), 37-74; Paul and Robert Gauchery, "La Demeure des ducs de Berry au Petit-Palais de Bourges et la monastère de l'Annonciade," *MSHLASC*, 1922, 157-175; Paul Cravayat, "Fragments d'un compte de l'oeuvre du Palais de Bourges (1381-1382)," *MUSSB* 4 (1953-1954): 7-23; Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique monumentale* 2: 270-272; Wimbée, *Histoire*

du Berry, 134-135; *HB* 2: 410-412; Lot, *Recherches sur la population*, 21-22.

[167] Monstrelet, *Chronique* 3: 53.

[168] *HB* 2: 410-412; Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique monumentale* 2: 271-272.

[169] The act of foundation established a college consisting of a treasurer, a resident cantor, thirteen canons, thirteen vicars, and thirteen chaplains, one of whom was to serve as master to the six clerks of the choir. (Arch. Cher 8G 1448 [19 April 1405; copy 7 July 1728]). In addition there were a number of lesser servants, such as "cellui qui a soufflé pour les orgues" (Alfred Gandilhon, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des arts à Bourges du XIVe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1907), 3-37 (Extract from *Réunion des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, 1907 and following years.)

[170] Arch. Cher 8G 1447 (7 December 1404); see also 8G 1448.

[171] Arch. Cher 8G 1803 (28 July 1405).

[172] See Guiffrey, *Inventaires*. Some of these riches John had to reclaim when the siege of 1412 made him desperate for funds to pay his troops and indemnify the English mercenaries. (Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique monumentale*, 206.)

[173] *HB* 2: 478-479.

[174] Now Rue de l'Hôtel Lallemand, Rue de la Petite Armée, and Rue de la Porte Jaune. For further information on artists in Bourges see Jacques Soyer, "Documents inédits sur le séjour et la demeure à Bourges de divers artistes au service de Jean de France, duc de Berry et de l'Auvergne, comte de Poitou," *MSAC* 27 (1903): 305-328; Paul Gauchery and A. de Champeaux, *Les Travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France duc de Berry* (Paris: H. Champion, 1894); Jean-Yves Ribault, "Précisions sur le sejour à Bourges de l'enlumineur Pol de Limbourg," *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry* nos. 12, 13 (March-June 1968), 40.

[175] Gauchery and Champeaux, *Travaux d'art*, 141.

[176] See Gandilhon, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des arts*, 9-11.

[177] Arch. Nat. KK 251 fol. 5v°.

[178] Arch. Nat. KK 250 fols. 12v°, 125r°v°.

[179] Arch. Nat. KK 251, fol. 53v°.

[180] Ibid., fol. 77v°.

[181] Arch. Nat. KK 250 fols. 12v°, 131r°-v°, 132v°.

[182] Ibid., fol. 131r°-v°.

[183] Ibid., fol. 131v°. At the same time the Chambre des Comptes repaid debts incurred in 1411-1412 to the Abbot of St. Ambroix (33 fr. 15 s. tournois) and to the college of Notre Dame de Sales (28 fr. 2 s. 6d. and 56 fr. 6 s.) (Ibid., fols. 124v°, 131v°, 132r°).

[184] Lacour, Gouvernement de l'apanage, 152.

[185] Arch. Nat. KK 250 fol. 132r°.

[186] Arch. Nat. KK 253, "Pour voicture d'orenges de Paris à Bourges, 100 s.t."; L. Douët-d'Arcq, ed., Comptes de l'Hôtel des rois de France aux XIVe et XVe siècles (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1865), Extraits d'un compte de l'hôtel de Jean, duc de Berry du 1er mai 1398 au dernier février suivant, 317.

[187] The kitchen was supplied with staples such as wine, milk, cheese, bread, fish, meat, wheat, pastries, pâtés, fruit, oil, mustard, coal, and wood; artisans as diverse as a locksmith and a maker of leather bottles were occasionally employed. (Arch. Nat. KK 251, fols. 8r°-16r°; KK 253 fols. 72v°-86r°.)

[188] Arch. Nat. KK 250, fols. 94r°; KK 251 fols. 8r°, 17v°, 65r°, 78r°; KK 252 fol. 23r°, etc.

[189] Sometimes the cargo was rather unusual; Jean Monnet earned 10 s. tournois "pour avoir mené l'ours de Bourges à Mehun et de Mehun à Bourges en sa charrette ... " (Arch. Nat. KK 253; Douët-d'Arcq, Comptes de l'hôtel, 318). The ducal family was not above calling upon the services of local professionals such as a veterinarian (Arch. Nat. KK 251, quoted by Comte de Toulguët-Tréanna, "Les Comptes de l'hôtel du duc de Berry [1370-1413]," MSAC 17 [1890]: 154) and a barber who "lava la teste de Charles monseigneur et lui osta ses cheveux" (Arch. Nat. KK 252 fol. 20r°).

[190] Lehoux, Jean de France 3: 331.

[191] Arch. Cher 8G 1447 (22 November 1397; vidimus 17 May 1415).

[192] Monstrelet, Chronique 3: 145-146.

[193] Lot, Recherches sur la population, 21.

[194] See, for example, Guiffrey, Inventaire, clxxxiv.

[195] See the account of the Bourgeois of Paris, Journal, 93-107.

[196] Monstrelet, Chronique 3: 357.

[197] As Georges Chastellain wrote, thus Charles was "deshérité ... par l'agréement du père et contre nature, et dechassé avec ce de son héritage par force de ses ennemis ... " (Oeuvres, ed. Baron de Kervyn de

Lettenhove, 8 vols. [Paris, 1836-1866; reprint ed. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971] 1: 149).

[198] Chameau, Histoire du Berry, 139-141. See also Gaston Dodu, "Le Roi de Bourges, ou dix-neuf ans de la vie de Charles VII," RH 159 (1928): 40.

[199] Chastellain, Oeuvres 1: 150.

[200] Ibid., 1: 326.

[201] Martial de Paris, dit d'Auvergne, Les Vigiles de Charles VII (1498), illuminated ms., Bib. Nat. 5054 (réserve), fol. 33r°.

[202] For example, Ninglat, "L'Autorité royale," 195.

[203] Perroy, Hundred Years War (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1951), 259-260.

[204] Arch. Mun. AA 9 (A 771). In addition to this original, the charter was copied many times, which indicates the value in which it was held; see Arch. Mun. AA 1 fols. 45-47 (1584); AA 2 fols. 9-11 (1652), fol. 25v° (1585), fol. 26 (1615); AA 9 (1580); Jean Chenu, ed., Privilèges octroyés aux maires et eschevins bourgeois et habitans de la ville et septaine de Bourges par le roy Philippe Auguste en l'an 1181, confirmez & augmentez par ses successeurs & verifiez ès cours souveraines (Paris, 1603), 22-30; Ordonnances 13: 233-234.

[205] Arch. Mun. AA 1 fol. 5v° (copy 1584); other copies Arch. Mun. AA 3 fols. 3v°-7v° (1477); AA 4 fols. 24-26v° (1542).

[206] Arch. Cher 2F 20 fol. 138r° (ms. copy of Raynal).

[207] Arch. Nat. KK 56 fol. 1v° "De maistre Jehan Taumer Receveur general de laide octroye au Royaume a lassemblee des gens des troys estaz ... en la ville de Bourges au mois de janvier MCCCCXXII la somme de X^{m} l. t."

[208] Ibid., fol. 86v°.

[209] Ibid., fols. 41r°- 48v°.

[210] Ibid., fols. 59r°- 66v°; 75r°-80v°.

[211] Ibid., fol. 86v°.

[212] Ibid., fols. 87r°- 94r°; 101r°- 108r°; 118r°- 123v°; 132r°- 135v°.

[213] Letter of Charles VII to the inhabitants of Bourges. Labbe, Histoire abrégée, 27

[214] Arch. Nat. KK 56 fol. 27v° "Audit lieu [Bourges] esdit jour [3 January 1424 n. st.] fut pareillement compte de deux mois xvii jours ... de

la despense le lostel de monseigneur Loys de France Daulphin de Viennes premier fils du Roy Charles le vii^{e} ne en ladite ville de Bourges le iii^{e} jour de juillet en CCCCXXIIIe et baptise le iiij jour dudit mois de juillet en leglise de Saint Estienne de Bourges par monseigneur Guillaume de Champeaux evesque de Laon ... mxxiii l. vii s. vi d."

[215] Ibid., fol. 108r°.

[216] Perroy, *Hundred Years War*, 274.

[217] La Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry* 1: 310-312; see also Chaumeau, *Histoire de Berry*, 141.

[218] In compensation for several houses which had to be demolished in the course of this work, Charles VII granted the monastery of Montermoyen an annual rent of 88 *livres tournois* on the taxes on salt entering and sold in the town, while Notre Dame de Sales received thirty *livres tournois* plus "deux lampes dargent ..., pour y archer jour et nuyt devang lymage [de] notre dame." (See Arch. Nat. J 188B no. 77 [January 1428 n. st.] for the deed ceding the houses; Arch. Cher 8G 136 [21 February 1428 n. st.] for the letter of compensation.) The two establishments had considerable difficulty in collecting the sums due them; on the 2 February 1433 Notre Dame de Sales addressed a remonstrance to Charles VII complaining that full payment "est souvent empesche et retarde" (Arch. Cher 7G 309), and in 1465 the aggrieved parties took to court Robert du Lion "Nagueres grenesier de la ville de Bourges deffendeur qui refuse paiement de quatre vings livres sur le sel ... " (ibid.).

[219] Tripault, *Histoire et discours au vray du siège d'Orléans* (1576), quoted by Lucien Jeny and P. Lanery d'Arc, *Jeanne d'Arc en Berry et l'ancienne fête dite "de la Pucelle" à Bourges* (Paris-Bourges, n.d.), 16.

[220] Jeny and Lanery d'Arc, *Jeanne d'Arc en Berry*, 16-18.

[221] Raynal wrongly believed that this procession commemorated Joan's martyrdom (30 May 1431) (*HB* 3: 25); Jeny and Lanery d'Arc have shown that the procession predated her execution, and traditionally took place, not on the Sunday the nearest to the anniversary of her death, but on the Sunday after Ascension (*Jeanne d'Arc en Berry*, 11, 21, 24, 26-27.

[222] Monstrelet, *Chronique* 3: 335.

[223] Jeny and Lanery d'Arc, *Jeanne d'Arc en Berry*, 64.

[224] La Thaumassière, *Histoire du Berry* 1: 161; text of the granting of the tax, ibid., 1: 314-316.

[225] Ibid., 312-313.

[226] *HB* 3: 20. Popular tradition also claims that Joan was formally armed as a knight at Bourges, but there is no concrete evidence that this ceremony ever took place at all, although it is possible that she received

her armour from the craftsmen dwelling on the Rue des Armuriers. See Lucien Jeny, "Jeanne d'Arc a-t-elle été armée chevalier?" RB (May, 1913): 129-131.

[227] Dodu, "Roi de Bourges," 42 n. 3.

[228] Arch. Mun. AA 1 fol. 45.

[229] Arch. Cher 8G 21; 8G 276 fols. 7r°-8v° (eighteenth century copy). This important privilege was confirmed by Louis XI in 1466 (Arch. Cher 8G 21, original).

[230] Arch. Cher 8G 1599; quoted by Jean-Yves Ribault, "Chantiers et maîtres d'oeuvre à Bourges durant la première moitié du XVe siècle," Actes du 13e Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Paris, 1970), 392.

[231] Chaumeau, Histoire de Berry, 173.

[232] CL, 68

[233] Jean Chenu, Recueil des Antiquitez, 9.

[234] A. Tuetey, Les Ecorcheurs sous Charles VII: épisodes de l'histoire militaire de la France au XVe siècle d'après des documents inédits, 2 vols. (Montbéliard: Henri Barbier, 1874) 1: 45-46.

[235] See Charles' letter of remission in favour of Macé Chevrier for the murder of a miller at Sainte-Solange, a village in the vicinity of Bourges, when his company "aloient courir devant nostre ville de Bourges" (April 1446) (Arch. Nat. JJ 176 no. 354; Tuetey, Ecorcheurs 2: 406-408.)

[236] See René Gandilhon, Politique économique de Louis XI (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1941), 105-106.

[237] The chronicler Thomas Basin complained that this predeliction for isolated provincial residences meant that access to the king was very difficult and controlled by his minions. (Histoire des règnes de Charles VII et de Louis XI, ed. J. Quicherat, 4 vols. [Paris: Jules Renouard, 1855-1859] 1: 326-327.

[238] See Devailly, Diocèse de Bourges, 76; Basin, Charles VII et Louis XI, 1: 317-322. A copy of the deliberations of the assembly of 1440, which pronounced upon the schism between popes Felix V and Eugene IV, may be found in Arch. Cher 2F 53 fols. 19v°-20v° (ms. copy by Raynal).

[239] Chenu, Antiquitez et privileges, 74ff.; La Thaumassière, Histoire du Berry, 1: 177; Dodu, "Roi de Bourges," 56.

[240] However, no document exists as proof that de Varyé actually performed the functions of these latter offices. For an account of his varied career, see the resumé of the thesis by Marie-Edith Poulon, Guillaume de Varyé facteur de Jacques Coeur and Général des Finances de

Louis XI (Paris, 1972).

[241] " ... Et pour ce que en nostre temps n'avons veu advenir le cas pareil et que ceste chose nous est nouvelle desirans de tout nostre cueur vous obéir vous rescripvons en vous supplians que de votre benign grace il vous plaira nous fair scavoir vostre bon plaisir & voulenté sur ce, par ce present porteur que pour ceste cause vous envoions et nous mectrons peine de faire & acomplir ce qu'il vous plaira nous en ordonner ... Vos tres humbles et tres obeissans subgietz les Bourgeois manans et habitans de votre ville & cite de Bourges." (9 August 1459.) (Arch. Cher 2F 50, fol. 147r° [ms. copy by Raynal].)

[242] Dodu, "Roi de Bourges," 77.

[243] Fumée was released from his imprisonment by the new monarch and showered with honours. (Basin, *Charles VII et Louis XI* 1: 311-312.)

[244] For the best analyses of the economy of medieval Bourges, see Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, and Hippolyte Boyer, "Splendeur et décadence du commerce à Bourges," *RB* 1 (1864): 17-25, 89-100, 170-184, 264-270, 293-305, 341-347.

[245] See the *Coutumes* of the Duke of Berry (*CL*, 331ff.) The best description of the various guilds in Bourges has been compiled by Hippolyte Boyer, "Histoire des corporations et confréries d'arts et métiers de Bourges," *MSHLASC* 23 (1909): 8-81; 24 (1910): 63-218; 27 (1913): 159-183; 28 (1914): 89-174; 29 (1915-1916): 53-178; 30 (1917): 145-170; 31 (1918-1919): 1-107; 32 (1920-1921): 163-185; 33 (1922): 176-234; 35 (1925-1926): 1-42; 36 (1927): 237-284; 37 (1928-1929): 1-104; 39 (1932): 1-44; 40 (1933): 33-66; 41 (1934-1935): 1-34; 42 (1936): 135-164; 43 (1937-1938): 15-144.

[246] See, for example, the two and one half meter long fifteenth century ms. "Ordonnance faicte comment les panetiers de Bourges feront pain," Arch. Mun. HH 22.

[247] See Appendix C, *De Vicario Biturice Urbis*.

[248] Arch. Cher 8G 1803 (copy); Delaborde, *Actes de Philippe Auguste* 3: 297-298 no. 1192.

[249] Arch. Cher 8G 1803.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Ibid.; *Ordonnances* 3: 394-395; Boyer, "Corporations et confréries," 29 (1915-1916): 68-69.

[252] Letters dated 28 February 1405, 28 July 1405, 12 January 1424, 22 August 1427 all concern collection of this rent (Arch. Cher 8G 1803); see also Arch. Cher 2F 84 no. 1.

[253] Arch. Cher 8G 1803; Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, 85-86.

[254] Arch. Nat. X^{1A}8604 fol. 142r°v°. Case argued before the royal *curia* "inter Giletum Pain et alios suos consortes carnifices carnes vendentes bituris ex una parte Et magistrum Guillelmi Bastardi et alios suos consortes magistros carnifices dicte ville se dicentes ex parte altera."

[255] Arch. Cher J 595 (ms. copy by Raynal).

[256] Arch. Cher 2F 84 no. 1 and 8G 1803.

[257] Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, 99.

[258] Claude, *Topographie*, 20, 42.

[259] Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, 46.

[260] Boyer, "Corporations et confréries," 32 (1922): 194.

[261] Gueneau, *Sources parisiennes*, 90.

[262] Bernard Chevalier, *Tours: Ville royale (1356-1520): origine et développement d'une capitale à la fin du moyen âge* (Louvain-Paris: Vander/Nauwelaerts, 1975), 215-218, 291.

[263] L. Lacrocq, "Commerce de draperie avec l'Albigeois. XVe siècle," *MSAC* 42 (1927): xxxv-xxxvi.

[264] Paul Toussaint, *Les Foires de Chalon-sur-Saône des origines au XVIe siécle* (Dijon: Imprimerie Darantière, 1910), 75, 165, pièce justificative no. 1.

[265] A *tonlieu* established by the Florentines at Geneva in 1307 mentions "pro quolibet torsello pannorum de Borges . . . s. triginta Jan." Another *tonlieu* of 1402 refers to "Panni Burgi in Berri." The identification with Bourges is argued convincingly by Henri Laurent, "Draps de Burgos, de Bruges ou de Bourges à Florence au XIVe siècle?" *Mélanges offerts à Nicolas Iorga* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1933), 507-512.

[266] The Florentine merchants and bankers at Bourges often acted as tax collectors and informants for the pope in Avignon. See Yves Renouard, *Les Papes d'Avignon et les compagnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 à 1378* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1941), 204, 395, 463 n. 114.

[267] *Ordonnances* 13: 389-390.

[268] The original of the statutes which incorporates Charles VII's letter of authorisation may be found in Arch. Mun. HH 25; no less than twelve copies dating as late as 1550 are preserved in this *liasse* and in Arch. Cher 4H 187, an indication of the importance given these

statutes. See also *Ordonnances* 13: 378-383. An earlier attempt to regulate the métier had foundered. In 1429 the Parlement at Poitiers heard a case between nine "magistros tonsores" acting on behalf of the "corporis collegii et communitas tonsorum pannorum lancorum dicte nostre ville" and the bourgeois and merchants which challenged the authority of the Senechal of Bourges to make ordonnances and statutes governing the clothiers. There does not appear to have been any resolution to the case until 1443 when the king undertook to issue statutes himself. (Arch. Nat. X^{1A}8604 fol. 131r°v°.)

[269] Arch. Cher 4H 187 no. 5.

[270] Arch. Mun. HH 25 (copy of 15 September 1480).

[271] Arch. Mun. HH 30; Arch. Cher 4H 188 no. 13.

[272] Arch. Mun. HH 40 fols. 62r°-67r°.

[273] La Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry* 4: 101.

[274] *Ordonnances* 15: 208. Charles had in fact borne the title of Duke of Berry during his father's lifetime, probably since his birth, and had spent part of his childhood in the province, patronising tradesmen of Bourges. See Henri Stein, *Charles de France frère de Louis XI* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1919), 9-15, 25.

[275] Arch. Cher C 814 "Hommaiges faicts au pays et duché de Berry despuis le temps de Très-Haut et Très-Excellent prince Charles fils et frère de Roy de France duc de Berry ... "

[276] For accounts of the motives and course of the war, see Stein, *Charles de France*, 45-134 (who is sympathetic towards Charles), and Paul Kendall, *Louis XI '...the universal spider...'* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1971), 179-192 (who is sympathetic towards Louis XI).

[277] Basin, *Charles VII et Louis XI* 2: 114.

[278] Joseph Vaeson and Etienne Charavay, ed., *Lettres de Louis XI roi de France* 11 vols. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1883-1909) 2: 264.

[279] Basin, *Charles VII et Louis XI* 2: 115.

[280] "Lettre de deux notables de la ville de Bourges aux officiers de la Chambre des Comptes," J. J. Champollion-Figeac, ed., *Documents historiques inédits*, 5 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1841-74), 2 (Lettres, Mémoires et autres documents relatifs à la guerre du Bien Public en 1465): 229.

[281] Vaeson, *Lettres de Louis XI* 2: 286-287.

[282] Stein, *Charles de France*, 81.

[283] Ibid., 75-76. For the accounts of the preparation of the defences of the Grosse Tour, see pièce justificative no. 4, 519-523.

[284] Arch. Nat. K 530^3 no. 9; quoted by Stein, *Charles de France*, 76 n. 6.

[285] See ibid., 72-73 n. 2, 3.

[286] The following debts were repaid on the 7 January 1466 (n. st.): Martin Anjorrant, 1060 l. 7 s. 6 d.t.; Guillot de Rusticat, 670 l. 7 s. 11 d. ob. t.; Etienne Amours 451 l. 3 d.t.; Jehan Poncet 614 l. 12 s. 2 d.t., all merchants of Bourges; and Thevenin Ferrat, armourer of Bourges, 140 l. 8 s. 6 d.t. (ibid., pièce justificative 24, 567-568). Charles also gave Guillot de Rusticat 306 l. 5 s.t. "en faveur des services qu'il lui a faiz en plusieurs et maintes reprises durant le temp que l'armée des seigneurs du sang estoient sur les champs ... " (ibid., 572).

[287] Basin, *Charles VII et Louis XI* 2: 115.

[288] Vaeson, *Lettres de Louis XI* 2: 293 (14 or 15 May 1456).

[289] Ibid. 2: 325-326 and n. 1.

[290] *HB* 3: 101; Stein, *Charles de France*, 130.

[291] Chaumeau, *Histoire de Berry*, 150.

[292] Basin, *Charles VII et Louis XI* 4 (*Breviloquium*): 19.

[293] Gandilhon, *Politique économique*, 246-247.

[294] Ibid., 103.

[295] Arch. Cher 2F 43; see also Gandilhon, *Politique économique*, 125.

[296] Arch. Mun. HH 17.

[297] Arch. Mun. CC 129 (A 975).

[298] Commyne, *Chroniques* 1: 445; 2: 49-50; quoted by Pierre Champion, *Louis XI*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1927) 2: 195.

[299] Arch. Mun. CC 122 (A 168) (25 February 1464). Louis XI orders that "par les grattiers et contrerollens [*sic*] dudit grenier a sel de Bourges vont faites vendre ledit sel a ladite tient de xx deniers sur chacun minot de sel oultre notredit droit de gabelle et cellui du marchant durant ledit temps de dix ans. Et le prouffit qui en viendra et restra bailler et ausdits bourgois manans et habitans de ladite ville ou aleurs officiaux parmi eulx pour le employer et commetre en ce que du estre et non ailleurs donnants quilz seront tenuz en rendre compte

pardevant nos gens et officiers ... " Attached is the confirmation by the royal officers dated 30 June 1464. Evidently the ten year period was extended, since in the same folder is a confirmation and vidimus of the 23 February 1483.

[300] Arch. Mun. DD 23 (21 December 1470). Attached is an acknowledgement of receipt by Jean de Fleur lieutenant of the bailli of Berry (7 February 1470 o. st.).

[301] Arch. Mun. CC 122 (23 August 1471). See the same liasse for confirmation by successive monarchs into the seventeenth century.

[302] Arch. Mun. EE 7 (22 February 1472) n. st.).

[303] Vaeson, Lettres de Louis XI 10: 351-352.

[304] Henri Sée, Louis XI et les villes (Paris: Librairie d'Education nationale, 1891), 179.

[305] Ibid., 179; HB 3: 107.

[306] Arch. Mun. CC 134 (three documents relating to the case dated 12 and 13 August 1374.

[307] Arch. Mun. CC 129 (A 975).

[308] " ... par assemblee publiquement faite on este conclu et delibere par le plus grant et ferme partie que lesdits deniers et aydes dont icelles nos lettres font mention se levoient et quil soit mande par icelles noz lettres de don et octroy les lever nonobstant opposition ou appellation quelzconques ... " Ibid.

[309] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2909 fols. 76-77, and 2912 fol. 9; Arch. Cher 2F 50, fol. 153 (ms. copy by Raynal); Sée, Louis XI et les villes, 385-387, pièce justificative no. 6. Jean Bonnelune, a farmer of the barrage, was prévôt of Bourges in June 1471, a position in which possibly he incurred popular enmity (Arch. Mun. CC 246 [A 1092]).

[310] On the 27 May 1474 Louis XI ordered the commissioners to inquire into "certaine rebellion commotion et assemblee du peuple a lencontre de Gilles Millon lieutenant de notre grosse tour de Bourges par aucuns de la ville de Bourges des coulpables delaquelle commotion et assemblee na este encores faicte aucune pugnition ne justice." (Bib. Nat. fonds français 2919 fol. 8). Louis had already mentioned the attack on Milon on May 12th (Bib. Nat. fonds français 2907 fol. 6) and May 15th (Vaeson, Lettres de Louis XI 5: 257-258). Although the date of this riot is not mentioned, it may be assumed that it took place at the same time as the attack on Bonnelune or on Bouet.

[311] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2909 fols. 76-77.

[312] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2912 fol. 27.

[313] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2909 fol. 77.

[314] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2912 fol. 6. See Appendix B for full text.

[315] Ibid., fol. 7. For the de Blet brothers, see HB 3: 113. Jean de la Berthonnière is included in a list of élus compiled by Catherinot, Les Fastes consulaires à Bourges (Bourges, 1684), 1-3. The name of Guillaume Sardé appears as lieutenant general of the bailli in many civic records of the period. Regarding Martin Anjorrant, see Gandilhon, Politique économique, 352. Gandilhon claims that Anjorrant died in 1473, which clearly is impossible.

[316] HB 3: 114.

[317] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2908 fol. 8 (2 May), in Vaeson, Lettres de Louis XI 5: 243; Bib. Nat. 3997 (2 June) copy by D. Housseau vol. 9 (1400-1547 A.D.) in ibid. 5: 267-268. An entry in the accounts kept for the "reformation de la ville" records twenty livres tournois paid "a messeigneur du Fou et du Bouschaige pour avoir paye certains arbaletiers que ledit Roy notreseigneur faisoit venir en ceste ville de Bourges." (Bib. Nat. fonds français 2919 fol. 20v°).

[318] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2907 fol. 6; R. de Maulde, ed., Procédures politiques du règne de Louis XII, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885) 2: 624-625.

[319] Ibid.

[320] " ... ceux qui auront gagné à estre exécutez, faites les mectre à leurs portes." (Additional instructions to du Bouchage on the 12 May 1474, quoted in HB 3: 115.) Three days later Louis modified his brutal order, stating that "je suis content que vous faites dependre et oster les corps qui auront este executez, après qu'ilz auront esté attachez ung jour à la porte de leurs maisons." (15 May 1474), in Vaeson, Lettres de Louis XI 5: 257-258.

[321] Arch. Mun. CC 257 fol. 48r° " ... la somme de cinquant livres tournois qui furent baillees a maistre Guillaume de Courroy ... pour faire despendre les executez qui estoient dedans ladite ville ..." (see also fol. 21v°).

[322] "A maistre Estienne de Sagneser executeur de la haulte justice ... xv l.t." (ibid., fol. 21r°).

[323] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2912 fols. 14r°-23v°.

[324] Letter to du Bouchage (11 June 1474) ordering the payment of one thousand écus to his retainer Amaury de Plumaugiert "tant pour le temps passé que pour ceste annee" to be taken from "les confiscacions de Bourges, et les premiers deniers venans ... " (Bib [illegible] fonds français 2897 fol. 66; Vaeson, Lettres de Louis XI 5: 273[illegible].

[325] For example, "A Pierre le Beaumont Louys le Peletier Misan Mauchet Pierre la Sape le Sondrin Rolant Mace Pierre Chosin le Seigneur de Thoraicte le somme de vi l.t. a departir entreulx par egalle portion a eulx tauxe par desdits seigneurs pour avoir vacque avecques mesdits seigneurs a la commission." (Bib. Nat. *fonds français* 2912 fol. 20r°).

[326] Ibid., fol. 21r°, 22v°.

[327] Vaeson, *Lettres de Louis XI* 5: 265-267.

[328] On the 17 June 1474 Jacques de Pres, lieutenant of the château of Montargis, certified that he had received sixteen prisoners from Bourges into his guard. (Bib. Nat. *fonds français* 2912 fol. 30.) A list of the names of the sixteen suspects may be found in ibid., fol. 28.

[329] Among a list of "ceulx qui avoient le chasteau [de Montargis] pour prison": Pierre Esterlin and Fulgent Huote "pour quilz neste pas en la ville & ont este admenez en la personne de leurs femmes." (ibid., fol. 28).

[330] Ibid., fol. 29; Sée, *Louis XI et les villes*, 387-388, pièce justificative no. 7.

[331] Ibid., fol. 13.

[332] Ibid., fol. 8.

[333] Vaeson, *Lettres de Louis XI* 5: 257-258 (15 May 1474).

[334] Bib. Nat. *fonds français* 2912 fols. 31r°-v°.

[335] Ibid., fols. 20r°-23v°.

[336] Arch. Mun. CC 257.

[337] Ibid., fols. 36r°, 47v°.

[338] Ibid., fols. 20r°v°, 33v°-34r°, 42v°.

[339] Ibid., fol. 31v°.

[340] Ibid., fol. 22v°-31r°. An accurate estimate of the contributions of each *quartier* cannot be made since folio 27 has been cut out. From the entries that remain we find that Guillaume de Menesto collected 360 l. 3 s.t. from the combined *quartiers* of St. Privé and St. Sulpice in the period from June 23rd to August 8th; Macé Doulet delivered 63 l. 2 s.t. from the *quartier* of Porte d'Auron from July 24th to August 8th; and Pierre de la Croix submitted 60 s.t. from the *quartier* of Bourbonneaux on July 21st.

[341] Raynal (*HB* 3: 124) states that this *taille* was imposed at an assembly of the clergy and lay citizens on the 24th January 1475 (n. st.). This must explain the entry in the town accounts in the summer of 1475

referring to the expenses "pour faire les ppappiers [sic] de la taille des dix mille livres tournois" (Arch. Mun. CC 257 fol. 48v°).

[342] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2907 fol. 6.

[343] Although Louis XI had initially instructed du Bouchage to appoint François Gaultier as mayor and the relatives of Raoulet, the new prévôt, as échevins (ibid.).

[344] Ibid., fol. 15 (autographed original); Arch. Mun. AA 2 fols. 54-55 (copy dated 7 May 1652); pub. with some inaccuracies by Chaumeau, Histoire du Berry, 186-187, and Chénu, Recueil des Antiquitez, 23-24. Both de Sauzay and de Gannay were "prudhommes" in 1474-1475 (La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry, 164-165), and the latter was appointed lieutenant of justice during the revolt. Vaeson, Lettres de Louis XI 5: 265.

[345] Vaeson, Lettres de Louis XI 5: 265-267 (27 May 1474); see also Arch. Mun. CC 257 fol. 32r°, for the payment of ten livres tournois for the salary of the notary and the cost of parchment he used to copy and witness the oaths of assembly.

[346] Arch. Mun, CC 257 fol. 32v°. Payment of fifteen livres to Janoillac for the expenses of his journey.

[347] Ibid., fol. 40r°-v°. Payment of seven écus to five royal notaries of Tours (27 July 1474); ibid., fol. 45r°-46r°. Payment of six gold écus to a notary at Bourges for recopying these statutes to be sent to the Chambre des Comptes in Paris (no date); ibid., fol. 45r°-v° Payment of 9 l. 12 s. 6d. to a clerk in the Chambre des Comptes of the town of La Rochelle "pour evitez plus grand despens et alez et envoyer sur ledit lieu ... " The copies are still preserved in Arch. Mun. AA 1 (A 763), fols. 13-44, and AA 4. It cost the town a further eighty écus to have the new statutes notarized and sealed in Paris by Teillant, notary and secretary of the king (ibid., fol. 42r°).

[348] Sée, Louis XI et les villes, 38.

[349] See Arch. Mun. CC 257 fols. 38r°-v°, 40v°-41r°, 43r°-v° for payment of various labourers on the walls and ditches, starting in late June and continuing on through the summer.

[350] HB 3: 124; Sée, Louis XI et les villes, 182.

[351] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2909 fol. 24.

[352] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2912 fol. 7.

CHAPTER II

THE ROYAL TOWN

Analysts of medieval urban development in France have tended in the past to focus their attention on the often dramatic communal movement, dismissing other forms of civic government as deviations from the normal evolution, as failed communes. In recent decades, however, consular towns and the _villes franches_ have come to be recognized as viable alternate municipal régimes. The "free-towns," variously known as the _villes de prévôté_, _villes privilégiées_ or _villes de bourgeoisie_, were characterised by an amiable entente between the lord and the townspeople, in contrast to the spirit of confrontation implicit in the communal _conjuratio_. The salient point about the _villes franches_ is that their franchises gradually evolved in the seigneurial cadre, whereas the communal emancipation in effect constituted an exit from that cadre. Bourges typified the way in which the enduring and effective presence of the lord defined and delineated civic development in the _ville franche_. Indeed, it is difficult to see how any other course of emancipation was possible, in view of the preponderant influence which the king, as lord of Bourges, exercised in the town. Hence in order to comprehend the process whereby the inhabitants of Bourges acquired their privileges and municipal institutions, it is necessary first to assess the scope of royal power in the town. It will become apparent that a delicate and constantly tested balance had to be struck between the lord's prerogatives and the liberties and franchises which he alone could concede the townspeople.

The Town in the Royal Domain

When the king referred to Bourges as "notre ville," he was not employing a mere stock phrase of regal dignity; rather it indicated his actual possession of the town as part of the royal patrimony. The symbols of this ownership were the keys of the town, which the Duke of Berry presented to Charles VI in 1412 in token of his capital's surrender. When Philip I purchased Bourges, he became its lord in the same quality as its former owner, the Vicomte Eudes Arpin. As the new lord the king exercised the same powers and rights as had the vicomtes,[1] in theory if not necessarily in practice separate and distinct from the prerogatives (however illusory at the end of the eleventh century) which he held as sovereign lord of France. Thus when disputes arose regarding the exercise of these seigneurial rights in the first decades of the royal lordship, inquests were ordered to determine the "consuetudinam istam temporibus Arpini, quo praedecessoribus nostri praefatae urbis dominationem accepuerunt."[2] Although the newly acquired perquisites of lordship over Bourges and its Septaine were strictly local in nature, they were nonetheless extensive, making the town an important addition to the expanding patrimony of the Crown.

The nature of the feudal and especially the royal domain has been the subject of dispute. Traditionally the domain has been regarded as an aggregate of territories over which the feudal baron ruled independently; the royal domain consisted of those lands over which the king directly exercised his justice.[3] This view tends to be misleading when translated into those series of maps favoured by general histories depicting the regular expansion of the Capetian patrimony in compact parcels of land radiating from the Ile-de-France. A useful corrective view has been offered by W. M. Newman, who prefers to avoid the misconceptions of the simplistic territorial description by defining the royal lay domain as the aggregate of rights of diverse origins which the king held over lands, men, and transactions, rights which varied greatly according to the situation.[4] A study of the lordship of Bourges is well suited to give some substance to this necessarily ambiguous definition, since it exemplified two major elements of the royal domain: material possessions and rights to taxes, fees, and services. It should be borne in mind that these seigneurial rights were transferred in toto to John of Berry in 1360, so it is quite safe to equate the royal and the ducal domains where they pertain to Bourges, in making use of documents from the duchy of Berry.

The king was probably the wealthiest landowner in Bourges, although some of the major religious establishments may have been able to rival him in the extent of their holdings. Of course the royal residence was the most obvious material asset; the property greatly increased in value when the Duke of Berry constructed his costly palace and the Sainte Chapelle. Royal dominion was further represented by the king's inalienable possession of the town fortifications, including the Grosse Tour and the prisons. Acts of homage for fiefs, material and monetary alike, were customarily pledged to the king or duke "à cause de sa Grosse Tour de Bourges".[5]

Although the ramparts, ditches, towers, and walls were undisputed royal property, most of the adjacent property was privately owned, which caused considerable difficulty when the fortifications were renovated. Notre Dame de Sales owned the place in front of the Grosse Tour, which the chapter was accustomed to rent for twelve deniers parisis per annum. In 1259 the monastery complained to the Parlement of Paris that the current holder of the lease, the knight Geoffrey Maubert, refused to pay the rent because the king had caused a gateway in the town walls to be built which hindered Geoffrey's use of the place. The king decided to expropriate the entire place for his domain, ordering the bailli of Berry to pay the annual rent to the chapter.[6] In 1262 the canons reopened the issue on another front: this time they charged that the new ditches dug behind the Grosse Tour had done irreparable damage to their vineyard and cemetery, that fruit trees planted there darkened the church and, their clinching argument, that the ditches had been dug on their property. The Parlement decided that since the chapter had not protested this apparent encroachment on their land for more than fifty years, the king did not owe them compensation.[7]

The royal domain did derive some revenue from the fortifications. Since Philip Augustus had allowed the construction of houses upon or adjoining the walls of the cité, his successors could demand payment for granting permission to build; for example, in 1316 Pierre de Buxi, bourgeois of Bourges, paid the king two rents of ten sous and of twelve deniers to obtain such a licence.[8] The annual fees paid by the Coeur and the Lallemant families for their hôtels which incorporated the cité walls were doubtless more substantial.[9] The stone towers in the Gallo-Roman walls were also a source of income. For example, in 1405 Etienne Pelourde de la Monnoye acknowledged that he owed the Duke of Berry ten livres tournois per annum for, among other holdings, "une

tour enlancée dedens les mueurs de la cité de Bourges assis en la paroisse de St. Austrilles de Bourges ... avecques ladite cour en lesdits meuers de ladite cité ... "[10] Notre Dame de Sales had "de tout temps" held in fief "la Tour appellée Parceval, estant de la forteresse de la cité ancienne la plus prochaine de nostre gross Tour ... avec certains maisons joignant et prouchaines de ladite Tour, et les places, vergiers et autres appartenaunces d'icelles ... " which the chapter in turn rented out, with an annual income of twenty-five _livres tournois_ or more. When in 1388 the ducal officers attempted to collect from the chapter fourteen years of arrears in the annual rent of twenty-four _sous parisis_, the canons claimed that the properties had been so damaged by the expansion of the defences of the Grosse Tour and by the ravages of war that they were now valueless, so John of Berry agreed to acquit them permanently of the rent.[11] The domanial officers collected rents from tenants of houses, courtyards, orchards and places scattered throughout the town.[12]

One of the most valuable items of domanial "real estate" in Bourges was the Place Gordaine, the hub of market life in the town. Here were the principal meat and fish markets as well as other covered markets for vendors of every description. The rents for these highly valuable stalls swelled the purse of the Royal Receiver of Bourges. As we have seen, the butchers paid a corporate rent of one hundred _livres_ per annum for the Grande Boucherie.[13] In about 1423 the other stalls were leased to individuals for a period of two years for substantial sums in the order of fifty to ninety-five _livres parisis_.[14] The bread bakers paid a weekly rent of two _deniers_ parisis in "pain sanne" while the pastry bakers licensed to make bread paid seven _deniers parisis_ for their stalls.

As long as there was a vacant stall in the *panneterie* they were obliged to lease it, and the lease could not be terminated until a year and a day after the baker had abandoned his trade, so the domain was ensured a continuous revenue from the stalls. The *coutumier*, or holder of the "custom," was free to inspect the bakers' stalls at any time.[15]

The money-changers of Bourges also had their stalls in the Place Gordaine, and also required the permission of the *coutumier* in order to function.[16] In 1276 the Parlement of Paris decreed that St. Ursin could not have a money-changer in its bourg unless he also had a stall in the Place Gordaine and paid the king the same fee as his colleagues.[17] In about 1423 a separate Exchange seems to have been built close by the fish market, since one haberdasher was exempted from paying her rent because her four stalls "ont esté abbatuz pour faire les changes qui ont esté à la Porte Gordaine."[18] Rents for these newly constructed stalls ranged from twenty-five to thirty-three *livres parisis* for a two year period.[19]

The king was also one of the major wine producers of the region, with vineyards both within the town and in the surrounding *plat pays*. In 1421 the Dauphin Charles acquired the vineyard below the windows of the archbishop's palace from the cathedral chapter.[20] An item in the 1202 general accounts of the royal domain lists the expenditure of twenty-two *livres* for making wine in Berry ("de vineis Bituricarum faciendis").[21]

As lord of Bourges the king enjoyed extensive privileges for the marketing of his wine. The *banvin* (or *bandie*, *stagnum*, or *estanche*) was the right of the lord to forbid all the inhabitants of the *bandie* to sell the wine from their harvests until his own produce had been sold.[22] In 1141 Louis VII modified the terms of the royal monopoly, stipulating that the town would be free from all *bans* during the months of August and

March, and the three annual feast days of Easter, Pentecost and Christmas and their octaves.[23] The king also agreed not to market spoiled wine. The inhabitants were fortunate in having been exempted in 1181 from the obligation to pay their lord the botagio (boutage or forage), a tax imposed on the wine sold both wholesale and retail.[24] The cathedral cloister was the only part of the town not subject to the royal banvin; the Parlement of Paris in 1279 decreed that "le chapitre de Bourges durant le ban du roy peult vendre son vin à taverne au dedans du cloistre, non dehors."[25]

The royal ban also applied to the sale of grain produced on domanial lands. When the ban came into effect, it was the custom for the bailli of Berry to consult the citizens of Bourges in fixing the prices of the king's wine and grain. In 1274 the townspeople complained that the bailli had ignored this time-honoured right; the bailli retorted that they were in the habit of setting ludicrously low prices. The Parlement of Paris decided that henceforth the bailli should summon the inhabitants when it was expedient, but that he was not obligated to do so.[26]

In 1234 the accounts of the bailliage of Bourges reported a revenue of 160 l. 18 s. from the sale of the royal grain and wine.[27]

As lord of Bourges the king also exercised a banal right on flour milling. The largest flour mill in the town was the so-called Moulin-le-Roi, located on the Yèvre in the faubourg of St. Privé. Originally the property of the vicomte, this mill was an important asset to the royal and ducal domains until it was alienated in 1401 when the Sainte Chapelle received it as part of its endowment.[28] All the bakers in the town and faubourgs of Bourges were obliged to bring their grain to be ground at the Moulin-le-Roi on pain of confiscation of their beasts of burden and their flour; they could be granted express permission to have their grain milled elsewhere only "par faulte deaux en temps de secheresse."[29]

A rare exception to this ban was granted to the Trousseau family who operated the Moulin-Messire Jacques in the quartier of Auron. In 1158 Louis VII authorised Guy Trousseau to have two bakers grind their grain at his mill.[30] In 1337 Jacquelin Trousseau claimed that he had banal rights to fifteen bakers while the bailli argued that seven of them should be subject to the ban of Moulin-le-Roi. Philip VI arranged a compromise whereby Trousseau had the right to ten bakers whom he could replace in the event of a vacancy due to death or abandonment of the trade.[31] The dean and chapter of St. Etienne were also entitled to have two bakers patronise their mill, the Voiselle, free of all royal taxes and fees.[32]

The monopoly was difficult to enforce, as the canons of the Sainte Chapelle discovered. In 1473 they requested a royal sergeant to sequester the flour of the bread baker Pierry Samy who had flaunted their ban in patronising another mill.[33] A year later another dispute was brought before the bailli of Berry between Pierre le Pompeux, a baker of Bourges, and Perrin Girault, miller at Moulin-le-Roi. Apparently le Pompeux had been loaned two small mules to transport flour ground at the mills of St. Aoustrille, of which he held the farm. While le Pompeux was in the process of unloading the mules, Perrin Girault absconded with the animals and their burdens, on the grounds that "Pierre le Pompeux estoit boulangier de ladicte ville de Bourges du nombre de ceulx qui sont tenuz allez mouldre esdits molins le Roy bannyers ... " The plaintiff did not dispute the ban, being more concerned with the retrieval of his confiscated property, and the charges were eventually dropped.[34]

The ban of Moulin-le-Roi was farmed out to millers at a rate commensurate with the vigour of its business. In 1402 more than one hundred bakers were subject to the ban, so the price of the farm was set at ninety muids of grain per annum; later the number of bakers fell to sixty, so the farm of the mill fell in value to thirty-one muids.[35] The profits of the farmers were diminished by royal grants to the chapel of St. Martin d'Auxigny[36] and the convent of Charité-sur-Loire[37] of wheat to be taken annually from the stores of the Moulin-le-Roi.

Apparently the king also profited from his milling monopoly by selling the "custom"--that is, the right to exploit his banal rights--to individuals in return for an annual fee. Thus we have a deed of sale dating from January 1229 by which Gilon Tournelle, canon of Notre Dame de Sales, purchased from the knights Aimery and Humbaud Cegonneau the mill and appurtenances of la Voiselle (which later came into the hands of the chapter of St. Etienne), plus "duos panetarios qui sunt de feodo domini Regis."[38] Here it would seem that bakers subject to the royal ban were required to grind their flour at a privately-owned mill.

In addition to the principal banal mill of Moulin-le-Roi, the domain also acquired several other mills in the town and the Septaine, such as that purchased from Mathieu de la Chapelle in 1277.[39] While business at these smaller mills was not brisk enough to make their farm practical, they did provide some revenue for the domain when operated by tenants.[40] In 1454 the abbey of St. Sulpice made a declaration of homage to the king for a mill in its bourg whose value over a period of fifteen years was set at the comparatively low figure of eight muids of grain. The abbey also claimed the loss of four mills "lesquelz sont destruictz pour la guerre," which presumably it also had rented from the royal domain. The same declaration reveals that flour was not the only product of the royally-owned mills, as the abbot also paid one hundred _sous tournois_ rent for a "molin a estoice" (possibly a cloth mill), sixteen _livres tournois_ for two "molins a arnoys" used in the production of armour, and two _livres tournois_ yearly for an intriguing "molin a pappier."[41]

It is very likely that the king also possessed a banal oven at Bourges, since there is a street still called Rue Four-au-Roi on the north-west side of the church of St. Pierre le Guillard. Unfortunately no documentary evidence could be located to indicate who was obliged to bake in these ovens, but quite possibly at least some of the bakers subject to the milling _ban_ did so.

Finally, the king exercised his _ban_ on the furnishing of salt to the townspeople. In 1341 Philip VI, pressed for money to finance the Anglo-French wars, established salt storehouses in several towns, where the inhabitants were compelled to purchase their annual supplies in quantities proportionate to the size of their families.[42] Presumably it was at this time that the royal _grenier à sel_ was established at Bourges. This obligation was abolished by John II in 1350 but re-established in 1355; Charles V ordered that this hitherto extraordinary salt tax be included in the other ordinary taxes of the Crown, and the famous _gabelle_ was born.[43]

In Bourges the charge of the royal storehouse was farmed out to the highest bidder, who in turn furnished supplies of the gabelled salt to the _regrattiers_, or vendors who sold the salt in small quantities to the consumer. There were heavy penalties for those who attempted to avoid the royal _ban_; the _Coutumes_ of Bourges state that

> Toute personne qui vend sel non gabellée ladicte sel est confisquée au Roy, et pour la corps en la mercy du Roy. Et en ont la moitié les accenseurs [fermiers] qui tiennent ladicte sel et qui

l'accensent aux gens du Roy.[44]

The revenues from the salt storehouse were not negligible; in the period from 1 April to 30 September 1414 the treasurer of John of Berry, who had gained the right to the salt revenues, recorded an income of 725 l. 10 s. tournois.[45]

These material holdings brought the royal domain a substantial income, but even more important were the revenues which the lord of Bourges received from a motley collection of seigneurial rights, services, taxes, and fees, notably from commerce and the administration of justice.

First of all, whoever passed through Bourges en route to another market, whatever his cargo, paid a péage of seven deniers parisis per loaded horse and two deniers parisis per loaded wagon (rouage) for the right to traverse the town. This tax was divided between the king and the abbot of St. Sulpice, who by ancient custom was entitled to half the revenues from the péage and the tonlieu, or leude. This latter was probably the most lucrative tax which the king enjoyed, and was levied on merchandise entering the town gates for sale. Since almost all the trade fairs in Bourges were controlled by different religious establishments, the tonlieu still allowed the domain to reap some profits from commercial activity in the town.

A detailed list drawn up at the time of the transfer of the domain from the Crown to the Duchy of Berry reveals the comprehensive nature of this tax as well as the great variety of goods available in the markets of Bourges (see Appendix C). Wool, cloth, lard, cattle, pigs, horses, asses and other beasts of burden, fish, stuffed chickens, salt, pepper, peas, hemp, wax, oil and leather were all subject to tariffs which were levied in kind or in money. The revenues from other taxable items were split in varying proportions between the lord, the abbot of St. Sulpice and the voyer, whose office will be discussed later. Goods in this category included flour, onions, wine, wood, linen, wagons, flails, ploughs, brooms, baskets, bowls, cups, knives, razors, thread, scissors, and even bicornes, or double-horned headdresses.

The inhabitants of Bourges were exempted from some of these tariffs, usually upon the payment of a small annual fee. Sometimes, as in the import of livestock, it was specified that only those who owned a house in Bourges were exempt.

Since the majority of these customs duties were levied on foodstuffs and agricultural products imported from outside the town, the tonlieu provided a means for the domain to extract revenue from the rural population of the Septaine and the surrounding countryside. Doubtless the cost of the entry taxes was passed along to the urban consumer in the marketplace.

If the itinerant trader and the unorganised rural artisan paid their dues to the king on the tolls levied upon their produce at the town gates, their urban counterparts had their own seigneurial exactions to bear as well. The same list of customs specified annual and biannual fees owed by such artisans as the bakers, salt sellers, fishermen in domanial waters, cloth merchants, furriers, tanners, cobblers, and haberdashers, for the right to exercise their trades.

Domanial officials relieved themselves of the bother of collecting these trade and produce taxes by selling their custom for lump sums to individuals who then made good their investment by pursuing those leviable for payment. For example, in 1402 Babeau

Estevarde paid homage to the Duke of Berry for certain customs which her deceased husband had held and which she now took upon herself to collect. These included the "coustume des Tixerans en toilles et draps de la ville de Bourges," the right to one rake and one torch for every three produced in the town, the right to one pair of spurs from each spur manufacturer in Bourges, and a tax of four deniers parisis on every horse "qui chauche en ladite ville de Bourges."[46] Unfortunately, since she also rendered homage for a variety of other rights in rural parishes, we cannot conclude how much she paid for the exploitation of these customs. It was not merely enterprising bourgeois who went into the duty collecting business; in 1406 Robinet d'Estampes, "vallet de chambre et garde des joyaulx" of John of Berry paid his master an annual rent for the right to collect the dues of the corporation of winecriers of the town.[47]

Although the jurisdiction of the lord of Bourges over commerce was somewhat hampered by ecclesiastical control of all the fairs and most of the markets save the Place Gordaine, he still exercised an important prerogative in the right to verify all weights and measures used within the town. The problem of medieval measures is very complicated since measures of the same name varied greatly in actual volume, length, and weight from one locality to the next. Each lord had the right to stipulate the measures used within his own domain.[48] Thus at Bourges the king determined the standard measures employed in the town and its environs; documents specified that rents and taxes in kind be rendered "à la mésure de Bourges."[49]

In 1181 Philip Augustus declared that anyone convicted of having false measure was to be fined seven sous six deniers and the measure was to be broken.[50] The Coutumes of Berry were more detailed in their regulations. Anyone selling wine by measure, or using bushels, was required to have his measures stamped and signed with the arms of the king; failure to do so incurred a fine of sixty sous parisis for each pair of measures. The same penalty was imposed on anyone with duly stamped measures which were found cracked. Tavern-keepers whose wine kegs had defective or unmarked measures paid a double fine because he "n'en veult faire meilleur Marché." Marked wine and bushel measures found to be too small were fined only five sous parisis and broken. The prévôt was required to inspect oil measures and other types such as the ell.[51]

The duties and revenues of inspection of the weights and measures were farmed out; in about 1423 Lambert Lordepart paid the sizeable sum of one hundred livres parisis for two years for "le pois de Bourges," presumably the standard weight by which all others were compared.[52] According to Emile Turpin, the royal authority to verify the measures was delegated to the mayor and échevins,[53] but it is not known if this power was also conferred upon the civic authorities prior to 1474.

Unfair business practices were also subject to regulation. For example, if one merchant sold his produce to the public at retail prices, and another merchant bought him out at wholesale cost and then in turn sold the same merchandise to the consumer for higher prices, he would be compelled to display his goods at the original retail price and in addition would be subject to an arbitrary fine.[54]

A major part of the domanial revenues came from the administration of the high, middle, and low justice which the king as lord of Bourges held over the town and the Septaine, with the exception of those faubourgs subject to ecclesiastical justice. Since the regular emoluments of justice belonged to the prévôté which was farmed out, we shall consider these revenues when this office is discussed.

The lord of Bourges could also demand personal taxes and services from the inhabitants of the town and Septaine. Towards the end of the period studied these purely seigneurial rights tended to be either abolished or modified until they faded into oblivion.

One of the earliest seigneurial prerogatives mentioned in royal charters was the mestiva, or the right of the lord to take part of his villein's harvest or his livestock. In 1145 Louis VII confirmed an earlier charter of his father's which regulated the collection of this duty. Apparently royal officers had been demanding part of the harvests of the inhabitants of the Septaine for themselves; henceforth they were forbidden to do this. The king's right to take cattle would not be levied during the period from the feast of St. Michael (29 September) until the next harvest.[55] As the price for the remission of these "pravas consuetudines," each villein on behalf of himself and his family owed the king an annual payment of one measure of wheat. He could be freed from the duty of cartage, or transport, for one measure of wheat per cow, plus one measure of barley.[56] A curious addendum to this clause of the 1145 charter, which is omitted in the 1224 confirmation, states that the fossores (whom the editor of the Ordonnances interprets as miners who dug subterranean passages to undermine walls during a siege) also owed the king one measure, which his servants had been accustomed to take.[57] The mestiva was to be rendered according to the accurate measure of Bourges.[58]

When Philip Augustus confirmed his father's reforms, he included another article regarding the collection of the tax on sheep. The prévôt and other royal servants could collect the coutume only during the term from Palm Sunday to the quinzaine of Easter. If they tried to collect the tax after this period, the sheep farmer was not obliged to pay it.[59]

Another important provision of the 1145 charter concerned the hauban, which was the lord's prerogative to convoke the local population to perform certain corvées and services for public works.[60] Apparently the royal prévôt and the voyer had abused this right, summoning the peasants to the hauban at their whim, and then forcing them to free themselves from the obligation by payments of money. Henceforth, the king decreed, the hauban could be called only three times a year, and the peasants would not be permitted to pay their way out of the services.[61]

It may seem that these seigneurial rights concern only the peasant population of the Berrichon countryside and have no bearing upon the townspeople of Bourges. The charter, however, was promulgated at the request of the lay and clerical inhabitants of the town with the sponsorship of Volgrin, the Archbishop of Bourges, "pro amelioratione praedictae civitatis"; the decision regulating the hauban was made "et hoc consilio bonorum virorum ipsius civitatis."[62] So the townspeople must have had a vested interest in making these seigneurial dues less exigent. It should also be borne in mind that at this time the extramural suburbs and the countryside could be distinguished only by the higher density of population; cultivation especially in the wetland areas gave the faubourgs more a rural than a decidedly urban air. Many a

Berrichon peasant must have migrated towards these outlying areas of urban settlement without much alteration in his lifestyle or in his status vis-à-vis his lord.

The lord also enjoyed the right of demanding gîte, or hospitality, from his subjects. Louis VI and his successor forbade the royal prévôt or the voyer to take any hospitium in the Septaine.[63] But this abolition of what was often an onerous obligation applied to domanial officials only, not to their master. During the period when the royal domain provided virtually the sole resources for the impoverished Capetian monarchy, kings such as Louis VI preferred to reside in those localities where they enjoyed direct lordship, and so could profit from feudal hospitality.[64] It may be assumed that, during the not infrequent sojourns of the early Capetians in their town of Bourges, the right of gîte was invoked. It would seem that even this right was soon abolished. The 1181 confirmation by Philip Augustus of his father's reforms states that "Ab omni . . . culcitrarum exactione omnio quieti et liberi erunt."[65] Although the term culcitra, defined literally as bed, has been subject to other interpretations,[66] DuCange cites many parallel examples which clearly equate the term with the right to hospitium.[67] Thus while individual citizens might wish to offer gifts to the royal household when the king was in Bourges, they were not longer obligated to do so.

Since in the course of time the king relinquished most of those of his seigneurial rights which implied the personal dependence of his Berrichon subjects, such as the mainmorte, we shall discuss their significance in the context of the judicial status of the people of Bourges, in Chapter III.

Despite the surrender of the occasional seigneurial right, which was unlikely to have much effect on the royal purse, the domain still reaped a healthy profit from the king's perquisites of lordship at Bourges. The accounts from the Royal Treasury for 1202-1203, from all appearances a normal year, list the income from the prévôte of Bourges for the three fiscal terms as 977 l. 4 s. parisis, whereas expenditures amounted to only 216 l. 12 s. parisis, a profit of 760 l. 14 s. parisis.[68] This is a substantial income when compared to that of the prévôté of Paris which reported revenues of 4825 livres parisis for the same period.[69]

The consuetudines which have been discussed thus far might well be classified as manorial rights transposed to an urban setting. The picture becomes both more complex and more ambiguous when we consider the obligations of the townspeople which were more feudal in nature: military service and fiscal aids. The term "feudal" must be used with caution, since its use in the context of medieval towns is fraught with controversy. The crux of the problem is the status of the urban roturier in the echelons of feudal society. Falling within the categories of neither serf nor minor noble, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century the towndweller seems to have evaded any concrete classification of his placement in the feudal hierarchy. This difficulty centres upon the fact that the identity of the individual urban inhabitant tended to be submerged in that of the community. Luchaire tried to resolve the problem by describing the communes as popular, collective seigneuries with the same feudal obligations which a vassal owed his lord;[70] Thierry had also formulated this thesis, applying it to the bonnes villes as well, who through receipt of their privileges became an integral part of the feudal hierarchy.[71] This argument, which rests upon the identification of the towns as feudal entities by the nature of their seigneurial obligations, loses some of its force by Luchaire's own proof that many of these same obligations were owed, under some guise or other, by the villeins of the domain, not just the freemen.[72] The salient point is that these obligations were owed by the men of Bourges to the king, not on the basis of a feudal contract concluded between the parties, but by virtue of the fact that their town was located upon territory under his immediate jurisdiction. Thus it becomes hazardous strictly to classify certain services as "feudal," "seigneurial," or "servile."

Similarly ambiguous is the distinction between the obligations owed by the people of Bourges to the king as their direct lord and those he could claim as suzerain of France. This is especially difficult to clarify since we do not know precisely what services the townspeople had owed previously to the vicomte of Bourges. The problem must be considered in the context of the gradual recovery of centralised power by the Capetian monarchy. This point is particularly stressed by Borelli de Serres, who sees the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries as the epoch of the gradual but consistent extension of the king's domanial rights to the entire kingdom.[73] In light of this process an analysis of royal prerogatives centring on the terms "domanial," "sovereign," or even "feudal" is very difficult, if not suspect. It is some small comfort for the student to discover that contemporaries were equally confused regarding the nature and the boundaries of their obligations.

Military service was particularly subject to these ambiguities. Let us start our examination of this complex problem with local defence, which is really the only aspect of military service which we can identify with certainty as domanial. Every lord had the fundamental right to demand that his property be defended by every inhabitant of his domain, be he knight or villein.[74] In Bourges the people of the town and Septaine were charged with participating in the domanial guet, or guard duty upon the ramparts. Under normal circumstances personal service was not required, being replaced by the eschauguet, a monetary fee which varied according to the customs of the country; the usual sum levied in Bourges is not known. Only in times of absolute necessity could the arrière-guet, or porte, be imposed, when every inhabitant had to take his tour of duty upon the ramparts.[75] One such occasion was in 1412, when English troops had invaded Berry. The seneschal of the Duke of Berry issued an ordonnance giving those performing guard duty the authority to make a citizen's arrest for delinquents of the curfew:

> so aucun alant ou revenant des creneaulx trouvent aucun alant de nuit ... il le pourra et sera tenuz du [sic] prendre comme si il estoit sergent et pour sa payne aura x s ... [76]

Only a very select group could win special exemptions from defence duties in Bourges. Among them were the farmers and sharecroppers on the lands of the Sainte Chapelle at Ouzy, and the two vergers of the same privileged foundation.[77] In a letter of 3 January 1430 Charles VII restrained his officers from harassing Henry Mellein, a painter and window illuminator in his service at Bourges, who was relieved of any obligation to render "toutes tailles, aydes, subsides, gardes de portes, guets, arrière-guets et autres subventions quelconques ... " in accordance with the franchises of his profession.[78] The statutes granted to the fishermen of the domain on the 13 July 1403 state that they "seront quittes de tout eschauguet, mais en cas de necessité ils feront le guet pour la maniere de tous les autres habitants en la ville et septaine de Bourges."[79]

The right to demand guard duty was strictly a domanial prerogative. In a remonstrance from the early fourteenth century chronicling "les griex faiz par larcevesque de Bourges [Gilles of Rome] et par ses genz au Roy nostre seigneur [Philip IV] et a ses genz" is a complaint that

> nuls ne ha la chauguieste ne ne doit faire guiet en la cite de Bourges fors le Roy nostre seigneur. Les gens dou dit arcevesque se efforcent et veullent efforcer faire guiet et avoir eschaugieste en ladite valle de Bourges.[80]

The outcome is not known, but probably this apparent usurpation of a royal prerogative by the Archbishop's men was shortlived.

While the king or the Duke of Berry provided armaments such as cannon for the Grosse Tour,[81] we have seen that the townspeople could also be ordered to supply foodstuffs and other provisions for the local garrison which protected them.[82]

In addition to these defence duties of strictly local import, the inhabitants of the domain also were liable to other services which could take them far afield: the ost and the chevauchée. The former (also called the expeditio or hostis) usually meant a military enterprise of of some importance, whereas the latter (the equitatio or cavalcata) usually implied only a brief expedition or the duty of escorting the lord.[83] Time or territorial limits were frequently imposed upon the lord's exercise of this right; in 1181 Philip Augustus confirmed his father's promise to the men of Bourges and the Septaine that "In exercitum vel expeditionem extra Bituriam non ibunt."[84] This privilege was successfully invoked in 1272 when the people of Bourges protested a fine levied by the bailli because they had refused to respond to his summons to the royal army for the war over the comté of Foix waged by Philip III. After inspecting the charter produced by the plaintiffs, the judges of the Parlement of Paris agreed that they were not subject to this fine since it involved a conflict outside Berry, and since "ad exercitum faciendum domino Regi minime tenantur."[85]

Unfortunately this phrase does not really illuminate the extent of Berrichons' liability to royal military service. We know that the militia from Bourges was present at the battle of Bouvines in July 1214,[86] which certainly lay beyond the boundaries of Berry. There are two possible explanations for this seeming contradiction. The first relies upon a theoretical distinction between domanial and national need. It might be argued that the 1181 privilege was granted by the king acting solely on his authority as lord of Bourges; consequently when he required military aid to promote the interests of his own domain he could demand it from the men of Bourges only within the borders of Berry where their own interests potentially were at stake. According to this interpretation, then, the conflict in Foix was essentially a feudal war of succession and as such the Berrichon population could not be called upon to pay for or to participate in it. The campaign of 1214, on the other hand, was a time of national crisis when local customs and privileges were overridden by "evident necessity," and the king could muster forces from all points of his kingdom by convoking the arrière-ban, a form of universal conscription. It should be cautioned, however, that such a distinction has no concrete base in our documentation of this period beyond the ambiguous phrase quoted above referring to the minimal

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military service due the king.

If we admit this distinction between "feudal" and "national" service, it becomes difficult to explain the grounds upon which many towns, Bourges probably in their number, contributed to the 1253 Hainault campaign on behalf of Charles of Anjou, which could hardly be considered a war for the general defence of France.[87] Other minor expeditions of Louis IX which amounted to little more than chevauchées,[88] such as that into Brittany against Henry III's allies in 1234, to which Bourges contributed eleven hundred livres,[89] could barely fall into the category of national defence. As J. B. Henneman has pointed out, the monarchy's association of its wars with the public weal, and "evident necessity" as defined by the king, was still disputed well into the fourteenth century; aids, commonly called subsidies, for these wars were regarded as public financing of an essentially private undertaking.[90] Consequently to base an explanation of the Berrichons' participation in the campaign of 1214 and other like expeditions upon a distinction between seigneurial and national service would seem rather premature.

The idea of subsidies does suggest a second possible explanation, which does have parallels in Bourges' own history: that is, that the people of Bourges agreed to supply military assistance to Philip II Augustus with the proviso that this particular case should in no way provide a precedent which could endanger their privileges. There is no documentation extant to determine if this indeed was the case. However, when the inhabitants of Bourges appealed a subsidy for the war in Flanders in 1318, once again on the grounds of the limit of l'ost and chevauchée to Berry, they admitted that they had on previous occasions conceded to like demands, but "voulentiers de grace," not because of any obligation.[91]

But even if letters of non-prejudice had been granted on such occasions, they were unlikely to stand their recipients in good stead in subsequent cases; in general the French towns had little chance of being excused from a military subsidy, however "voluntary," unless their privileges included an explicit exemption from military service,[92] which for Bourges was not the case.

Before we discuss the larger implications of military service, we should pause to consider the actual military activity in which the inhabitants themselves engaged other than the arrière-guet. Quite probably in the twelfth century, when the kings were endeavouring to subdue the unruly barons of their domain, the able-bodied men of Bourges actually rode out on chevauchées with their lord. When, however, campaigns of greater import were involved, such as 1214, it is unlikely that the urban contingents present were actually composed of all or some of the town residents fit to bear arms, but rather of recruited professional soldiers or "sergeants" whose wages were paid by the town treasuries, usually for a period of three months.[93]

With the opening of the Anglo-French wars, however, the inhabitants of the French towns were required to resume their personal military responsibilities in order to repulse local enemy attacks. On the 2 September 1363 John of Berry authorised the erection of crossbow targets below the walls of his palace for the use of the townspeople,[94] thus anticipating the royal ordonnance of the 19 July 1367 which ordered the towns to keep a register of all the able-bodied archers and crossbowmen, who were to practise regularly with the young men of the area. Bourges probably had been one of the first towns to have a grand master to train crossbowmen, an office created by Louis IX. But these early urban companies had not distinguished themselves by their zeal nor by their efficacy. Louis IX and Charles V both had forbidden any sports or games which had no bearing on defensive skills, but such bans were, not surprisingly, ignored. In 1448 Charles VII undertook to institute a national infantry based upon francs-archers who were equipped, armed and designated by the towns.[95] In 1466 Louis XI reorganised the francs-archers into urban militia to defend such towns as Bourges, Paris, Amiens, Poitiers, and Beauvais. Still equipped and armed at the expense of the sponsoring towns, they were supposed to be regularly reviewed by royal commissaires. In the town financial accounts for 1475 is an entry for the payment of 180 livres tournois to the forty francs-archers of the town by command of the king; other items refer to payment for the purchase and repair of their weapons and armour, and the grant of ten livres tournois to the captain of the francs-archers for his services.[96] The new militias were again a dismal failure due to a lack of enthusiasm, training and discipline, so they were disbanded in 1480. The French infantry which was then created was once again financed by the towns. In arms alone Bourges furnished two hundred and fifty pikes, five hundred habelards, and as many daggers.[97]

The marked lack of success of these experiments clearly shows that urban troops could make at best only a mediocre contribution to the royal army. Philip Augustus seems to have been the first French king to substitute monetary subsidies for personal participation, thereby increasing the effectiveness of his forces while still exploiting the resources of his towns. These payments for commutation of military service were designated as the tallia exercitus or the tallia servientium in fourteenth century documents.

The Prisia servientium is a list of contributions of money and manpower made to the royal army in 1194 by towns and ecclesiastical domains in several bailliages. Bourges is noted as having given three thousand livres, a seemingly disproportionately large sum when compared to that contributed by the much larger city of Paris (four thousand livres) and towns of comparable size such as Orléans (fifteen hundred livres) and Gien (four hundred livres).[98]

Boutaric rashly concluded from this list that those towns, including Bourges, which had sent only money, and not sergeants at arms as well, had obtained the right to redeem themselves from the performance of military service by the payment of a fixed sum which would be levied only when the king called up his army.[97] Borelli de Serres scornfully pointed out that such a claim was clearly disproven by the participation at Bouvines of forces from several towns which allegedly enjoyed the right of "repurchasing" their services.[100]

Nevertheless money was increasingly preferred in lieu of personal service. In 1194, 1226, 1234, 1304, 1318, 1349, 1350, 1352 and probably also in 1202, 1253, and 1259, Bourges paid subsidies for military enterprises within the established or contested frontiers of the French kingdom. Of course during the Hundred Years War taxes for military purposes became commonplace, but under the circumstances the national defence needs were generally unquestioned. However, the legal basis for the exactions prior to 1356 remains uncertain.

The problem may be clarified by broadening the examination to royal taxation of Bourges in general. The most cherished clause of any of the many royal charters granted the town was the one first sealed by Louis VII, probably in 1175, which stated that the people of Bourges were to be "omnino quieti et liberi" from "omni tolta et tallia."[101] The difficulty was that the citizens of Bourges and the king put differing interpretations upon this franchise. The recipients of the charter considered themselves henceforth to be free from any type of imposition or taxation, including the levies for the "four cases" or "loyal aids," as they repeatedly argued in court. The king, on the other hand, seems to have regarded the clause as merely limiting his power arbitrarily to impose any extraordinary exactions. As Carl Stephenson has observed, the term taille denoted primarily a method of taxation (originally undoubtedly arbitrary), and only secondarily the taxes themselves.[102] Since the king apparently adhered to the former interpretation, and the citizens of Bourges to the latter, conflicts were inevitable.

The taille really defies concrete definition. Nevertheless it seems clear that essentially it was a local, domanial right pertaining to the individual feudal landlord within his territorial jurisdiction, for at the opening of the twelfth century the king of France did not enjoy a monopoly of taxation within his own kingdom.[103] It was not until the constant financial demands by the monarchy during the Hundred Years' War that the taille as a direct, apportioned tax was accepted as a regular and permanent part of the royal financial structure.[104] So until the fifteenth century, then, we may for our purposes consider the taille to be essentially a seigneurial extraordinary exaction which the king could legitimately levy only within his own domain.

In the thirteenth century the resources of the domain proved inadequate to the fiscal needs of the Crown, which turned increasingly to extraordinary means of acquiring revenues. The feudal aids were frequently invoked as pretexts to finance military expenses. These aids could be levied in four instances: the knighting of the lord's eldest son, the marriage of his eldest daughter, the ransom of the lord if captured by an enemy, and finally if the lord went on crusade (the latter not being as firmly founded in custom as the previous three). The aides aux quatre cas were ordinary revenues in that they were regulated by custom and restricted to what could be considered as foreseeable situations, but these same situations were extraordinary and non-recurring.[105] It was because these feudal aids were to some degree extraordinary fiscal expedients that the population of Bourges felt that they should fall within the category of the tailles from which it was exempt. The lawyers for the Crown disagreed, and for over a century many an acrimonious dispute had to be brought before the Parlement of Paris for arbitration.

First of all, it may be stated with assurance that, in contrast to military service, the feudal aids were strictly domanial prerogatives. Of course the Crown's perennial financial difficulties pushed it to attempt to generalise the aids for maximum profitability, particularly under Philip IV and Philip V.[106] Eventually the mounting tide of litigation from the French towns compelled the Parlement of Paris to decree that the criterion for liability to pay the feudal aids was the degree to which the townspeople in question were linked to the royal domain and hence were direct subjects of the king (20 December 1334).[107] There should have been no situation in which domanial privileges of exemption could be overridden.

Yet these same privileges were consistently ignored, with what legal justification is difficult to discern. The futile defence of these ephemeral privileges involved the town of Bourges in a long series of expensive litigation. We know that Bourges paid one thousand livres "pro auxilio regis" for the crusade of Louis IX in 1248,[108] and probably also contributed to his ransom in 1250. But we do not know if these offerings were made in the guise of dona, or voluntary gifts, or as obligatory taxes. These exactions seem to have been made quite without historical, if not legal, precedent since there is no evidence that any French king before Louis IX had obtained nor requested a feudal aid.[109]

The bourgeoisie of several French towns was provoked into resistance when Louis IX called for aids for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the king of Navarre in 1255 and for the knighting of his heir in 1267. The towns' opposition to what was regarded as excessive and unjust taxation was obstinate. The case of the king's subjects of Bourges did not appear before the Parlement of Paris until 1270, after Philip III had ascended the throne. This is the only instance when we have a summary of the arguments of the defendants from Bourges and of the royal prosecutor. The king had demanded the aids "tamquam jus suum, et de jure communi sibi debitum a civibus Bituricensibus." The bourgeois of Bourges based their case upon two points: first, that they were not obliged to pay such aids which were not the custom of their country, and secondly, that according to their royal charter of 1181 they were exempted from such taxes.[110] The king's counsel countered these arguments by asserting that the aid demanded did not fall into the specified categories of tolta, tallia, botagio, or culcitra, but rather was a royal prerogative enshrined in the general custom of the realm, and as such could not be nullified by special privileges nor by local custom. Thus the all-embracing definition of the taille put forward by the townspeople was not admitted; it was not stated just what the tolta and tallia meant, but it was asserted that local custom could not claim franchises not specifically conceded in a royal charter.[111] After scrutiny of the charter produced by the defendants (the validity of which was not questioned) the court pronounced in favour of the king, and "consideratis ville facultatibus," arbitrarily taxed Bourges at two thousand livres tournois. The neighbouring town of Dun-le-Roi which produced a charter modelled on that of Bourges, was sentenced to pay three hundred livres tournois, as was Issoudun.[112]

As Carl Stephenson points out, the case for Bourges seems to have been well-founded. The aides aux quatre cas were apparently a comparatively recent innovation in the royal domain, and so were not firmly fixed in the general custom nor were they reserved to the Crown in any royal charter. Furthermore, the claim of the bourgeois that they had never been obliged to pay such taxes was hardly contested; instead the court implicitly refused to admit their right to grant such fiscal aids of their own volition.[113] Unfortunately the arguments are too tersely summarised to allow a conclusive assessment of their validity or significance. Clearly, however, the inhabitants of Bourges did not consider the issue closed, for they continued to protest the aids on every possible occasion.

Notwithstanding the sentence, the townspeople were still extremely reluctant to pay the aid of 1267; in 1272 the required sum was still being collected. The curia regis had to intervene in a dispute between the inhabitants and Jaquelin Trousseau, a citizen of the town, who claimed exemption from the aid because he was the custodian of the Royal Seal at Bourges. The court appeased the bourgeois by denying Trousseau's claim and ordering him to pay the sum levied.[114]

It is very likely that Bourges was required to contribute to the aids for the knighting of the son of Philip III in 1285, the marriage of Philip the Fair's daughter in 1307, and his son's knighting in 1313; if so the Berrichons' protests must surely have joined those of other French towns who also questioned the king's right to tax them for the four feudal cases.[115]

Certainly in 1318 the bourgeois of Bourges vehemently objected to paying a royal aid for military purposes, asserting that "ils ne estoient ne ne sont tenus a paier pour le poinc de leur privileges ..." The remonstrance further states that the aid "ne peut estre levée pour la povreté dou peuple ..."[116] Possibly this indicates that the town received a special exemption because of the famine currently ravaging Berry, but more probably the tax collectors found it impossible to fill their quotas, a not uncommon occurrence.

In the 1330's Philip VI strove to relieve his financial distress by simultaneously damanding aids for three of the four cases, the greatest emphasis being placed on the knighting of his son John, the Duke of Normandy. This project met with stubborn opposition from all points of the kingdom, particularly from the towns.[117] We know that Bourges contributed to the knighting aid, for in 1336 the townspeople unsuccessfully appealed a sentence of the bailli of Bourges that four Italian cloth merchants residing in the town were not to be compelled to contribute to the tax.[118] Philip VI began to have scruples about the morality of the knighting aid, and in 1335 ordered that it be returned to the towns and other taxpayers.[119] The accounting involved was so complex that it is quite probable that the people of Bourges never saw their money again. Certainly in 1340 the knighting aid figured in a violent dispute between

Jean Chambellan of Bourges and some royal tax collectors and officers.[120]

The collection of the ransom of John II after his capture at Poitiers in 1356 fundamentally altered the fiscal base of the French monarchy.[121] Henceforth the incessant monetary demands of the Hundred Years War would obliterate the already blurred legalistic definitions and limitations of seigneurial and sovereign services, taxation, and domanial and national military obligations and their commutation in the patent, overriding cause of national necessity.

By the reign of Louis XI the French towns meekly accepted the king's definition of national need and the onerous taxation required to respond to it. In 1471 Bourges dispatched a contingent of artillery together with 280 *livres tournois* raised to meet its expenses to join the royal army at Châteaulevant, which seems to have been destined for the Somme campaign against the Duke of Burgundy;[122] there was not a murmur about the town's ancient privilege limiting service to the province. Another request for aid, probably in 1479, was phrased in an imperious if more courteous manner which clearly would brook no opposition; Bourges was to furnish Louis with one hundred *livres tournois* for "l'entretenement de nos Armées de Mer et de Terre" mustered to resist his enemies who were threatening "toute la chose publique de notre Royaume."[123]

The public weal was also invoked for taxation purposes which could not be so obviously classed as military service. In 1475 the tax collectors were busy wresting from the people of Bourges not just the thirteen thousand *livres tournois* which they had been fined for their sins in the War of the Public Weal and their recent revolt, but also fifteen hundred livres tournois for the "taille des angloix ... pour envoyez lesdits angloix hors du Realme."[124] This sum was Bourges' portion of the pension which Louis XI paid Edward IV to persuade him to withdraw his invading forces from French soil. Thus by the end of the fifteenth century Bourges could be heavily taxed for an extraordinary levy which was blatantly designated a taille without the town's twelfth century exemption from the tolta and tallia even being cited. The Anglo-French wars may have devastated France economically, but they had provided a concrete and unchallenged base for royal taxation.

What conclusions then may we draw regarding the legal or customary bases upon which the royal lords of Bourges made their demands for fiscal and/or military aid prior of 1356? Again, it must be stated that the theoretical justification for these demands is seldom stated in the scanty evidence which has come down to us; the account we do have of the trial of one of the several court disputes is more frustrating than informative in its lack of detail, and the arguments employed by the royal prosecutors appear to have had something less than a solid foundation in customary law if not in the resurgent Roman law. The predominant impression which one gains from a perusal of the cases available is that the necessity of the Crown is the only consistent element which emerges, in the face of which specific local privileges, customs and exemptions had to accommodate themselves. Potentially inconvenient provisions of royal charters were honoured only when it suited the purposes of an increasingly autocratic monarchy. The frequent protests and law suits brought by the aggrieved people of Bourges and other French towns only serves to demonstrate that medieval subjects of the Crown were as baffled by the legal justification for its exactions as modern historians are. Distinctions between domanial and national obligations may have existed in theory, but in practice they could not withstand the onslaught of a determined, increasingly exigeant monarchy. As Gasquet has astutely observed, the adroit policy of the Capetian kings lay in confusing the powers which they held from their lordship and those which they held by virtue of their royal office.[125]

Possibly the majority of the extraordinary taxes paid by the people of Bourges to their lord could have been classified as toltes or tailles, and so their payment should have been termed voluntary gifts. In this regard it should be noted that there was no provision for the granting of free dona in the original charter nor in its successive confirmations, a clause often included in municipal charters elsewhere. This omission may have provided the ambiguity readily exploitable by a rapacious royal lord. But in any case, as Carl Stephenson has pointed out, there may well have existed in theory a significant distinction between a contribution levied by free consent and that raised by arbitrary imposition, but it was unlikely to survive in practice.[126] One suspects that the tax-burdened bourgeois of Bourges could not have answered if asked in relation to what lordly prerogative he responded to the king's demands; by the close of the fourteenth century he had ceased even to ask the question himself, and merely paid, disregarding such superfluities.

Royal Officers in Bourges

The extent of domanial prerogatives in Bourges has been sketched; it remains to study the officials resident in the town who, as representatives of the king, enforced his rights of lordship.

The prévôt

The *prévôt* was the pre-eminent royal official directly concerned with the town affairs. As the local agent of the king's authority, the *prévôt* was, for most citizens of Bourges, their most immediate contact with their lord. First and foremost, the *prévôté* was a domanial office charged with supervising the exploitation of the king's seigneurial rights and properties in the district, and in general defending and promoting his interests. Since the Crown's dominance of the town was of prime importance to its control of Berry, these domanial duties of the *prévôt* led him to assume a position of preponderate influence in the conduct of urban affairs.

The limited scope of this thesis does not permit a comprehensive exploration of the nature of the *prévôté* and its role at the local level in the expansion of royal authority at the expense of feudal particularism. Rather we must confine ourselves to an overview of the *prévôt*'s functions insofar as they coincided with civic affairs. First the multifarious duties of the office will be considered, then the method of nomination and remuneration, and the qualifications of the incumbents.

As soon as the lordship of Bourges was transferred from Eudes Arpin to Philip I, a royal *prévôté* was established to supplant the officers of the *vicomté*. The earliest indication we have of a *prévôt* in the town is a royal charter of 1102 naming him simply as Jean.[127] Hugue de Rue-Neuve frequently witnessed charters in his capacity as *prévôt* of Bourges from 1106 to 1119;[128] these two men presided over the transition to the new régime. The rapid growth of population in certain areas of the domain such as Paris, Sens, Etampes, Orléans, and Bourges soon necessitated the appointment of several *prévôts* to one city. The resultant confusions and abuses prompted Philip IV in 1302 to limit the number to one for each prévôté, or two at the most.[129] For most of the period under study, there was normally one prévôt assigned to Bourges to whom royal commands were addressed. His circumscription included the town of Issoudun in the south-west of Berry until 1217, when the increasing domanial interests there warranted the erection of a separate prévôté.[130]

The functions of the prévôt were fourfold: financial, police, judicial and administrative. As the chief fiscal agent of the Crown in that sector of the domain, he was initially responsible for all the receipts and expenditures of the prévôté and the biannual payment of the profits therefrom to the central royal treasury, until he lost some of these functions to the bailli.[131] Even when the prévôt then found himself in a subordinate role in the actual accounting of domanial finances, he nonetheless remained the overseer of the domanial properties and of the collection of the seigneurial rents, taxes, fines, and other dues in money and in kind which were described earlier. He was charged with pursuing delinquent tenants and taxpayers for payment. He or his officers received and sealed oaths of homage for domanial fiefs.[132] Allocating and supervising the farms of domanial revenues such as the tonlieu also fell within the purview of his office, as did investigating irregularities, such as the case in the early twelfth century when the farmer of the custom tax on salmon refused to pay his dues to the treasurers of the king and of St. Sulpice.[133]

From these revenues the prévôt was required to make certain expenditures. In the thirteenth century these were divided roughly into three categories.[134] The opera were the expenses of maintaining domanial properties, ranging from fortifications and bridges to graineries and vineyards. Thus in 1202 the prévôt recorded the expense of 74 sous for the repair of a jail in Bourges.[135] The liberationes were the wages of royal servants of the prévôté and of the military personnel (although in 1202-03 the latter expenses figured in the accounts of the châtelain of Bourges).[136] Finally there was a miscellaneous category of feoda, elemosine et alie expense, which encompassed pensions, indemnities, alms and charitable donations to religious foundations, hospitals, poorhouses and leper colonies, and military supplies. Included here would be the expenses of meeting the requirements of the corps of royal servants, such as thirty livres spent for the purchase of three horses in 1202.[137]

Actually the prévôt's financial functions embraced his other roles as law enforcement officer, judge and administrator, from which he also collected fines and fees. Nowhere is the weakness of the municipal structures so evident as in the dominance by the royal prévôt of these jurisdictions of primal importance.

The prévôt was charged with enforcing the ordonnances made by successive monarchs for the police of the town, regulations which often surprise by their triviality or their attention to detail. A good example is the penalties imposed by Philip Augustus in 1181 for offences relating to agriculture.[138] If anyone rode on horseback through the vines in any season, or trespassed on foot when they were in fruit, he was to lose one ear and pay five sous to the king, unless he could attest by oath that he was ignorant of the ban. When the prévôt received a complaint from a proprietor claiming that he had caught a thief in the act of stealing fruit from his vines, orchard, meadow, or garden, the culprit was subjected to the same penalty; the accused could clear himself from the charges of witnesses other than the owner by a simple oath without a duel.

The owners of swine were fined four deniers if their beasts were discovered in the fields between Easter and harvest time; the same fine applied if any animal was loose in the vineyards, wheatfields, gardens, or meadows, but the injured landowner was to receive the money, not the prévôt. Any pig found among fruit-bearing vines was to be killed and the flesh divided between the owners of the animal and of the vineyard. It was forbidden to cultivate any pastures, paths, open areas, or boundaries designated for common use, or to cut down trees there, but an accused could clear himself by his own or another's oath. The prévôt and his subordinates were responsible for enforcing all these regulations.

Similarly the prévôt was charged with surveillance of the marketplace to ensure honest business practices, reasonable prices and fresh produce, collecting sixty sous parisis for each contravention.[139] The seneschal of the Duchy of Berry, who replaced the prévôt in his police functions, issued ordonnances in 1412 controlling the sale of grain in the town, forbidding anyone to hoard more grain than was required for the needs of his family for six months. Millers were to grind all the grain brought to them without withholding any portion thereof as a supplement or charging exorbitant fees. The seneschal appointed two inspectors to enforce the regulations governing the breadbakers and to bring offenders before the tribunal of the seneschal for punishment.[140]

The same ordonnance permitted agricultural employers to engage itinerant labourers in order to allow them to earn their living without begging in the town. Workers could not be hired until a trumpet signal was sounded, nor could they toil past curfew.[141]

The morals and security of the town were the especial concerns of the prévôt or the seneschal. The taverns and inns of the town were closely monitored. Rowdiness in taverns was punishable by a fine, and tavernkeepers were ordered to close their doors as soon as the curfew was sounded under threat of imprisonment; lingering customers were fined.[142] No man or woman could rent lodgings without a sign over their door, on pain of a sixty *sous parisis* fine to the *prévôt*.[143] Innkeepers could not lodge a stranger for more than one night without informing the authorities, and were obliged to inform their guests of the police ordonnances.[144]

The masters or mistresses of public baths (*étuves*) were forbidden to shelter men or women for the night.[145] Anyone found at the baths after curfew and bearing arms was subject to a fine.[146] Clearly baths and public houses were regarded as haunts for ruffians and prostitutes. In the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries the so-called Rue du Vieux Bordel seems to have been the bordello district of Bourges.[147] In 1256 Louis IX ordered that "toutes foles fames et ribaudes communes soient boutées et mises hors de toutes nos bonnes citez et villes," especially from the streets in the heart of the towns which they had claimed as their own.[148] Such measures were at best only temporarily effective, and the "filles de joie" continued to plague the authorities. They even had the temerity to take up residence in the ecclesiastically controlled suburbs. In 1439 the chapter of St. Ursin protested a nocturnal foray into their bourg by the royal *prévôt* Pierre Anjorrant to raid the "hostelz des femmes communes et blasmes ... en soy ventant que sil trouvoit aucun avec elles de le prendre et mectre en prison." Anjorrant further ignored the chapter's privileges by sending a royal sergeant into the bourg to announce that henceforth these women of ill repute were forbidden by royal command to wear a "large cornette forrure de gris tissus" or broaches of silver, on pain of a fine of one silver *marc* to the king.[149] Evidently prostitution was a lucrative profession in fifteenth-century Bourges.

Gambling was a perennial problem which a plethora of ordonnances could not cure. Whoever was caught playing at dice or other forbidden games was fined seven sous six deniers parisis for the first offence.[150] Games of chance, with their attendant evils of cheating, debauchery, and vagabondage, were strictly forbidden in "lieux dissoluz," although by 1412 they seem to have been tolerated in "lieux honestes."[151] Judging from the confessions of a petty swindler in 1419, the authorities had reason to be suspicious of gambling activity. Micheau Parcher proudly described his exploits in fascinating detail. He and three accomplices lured two country bumpkins ("deux bonhommes de villaige") into a tannery shop in the bourg of St. Ursin by asking them for change for an écu d'or. Once they had ascertained that their victims had money, they enticed them into joining a fixed game in which they lost about twelve francs. The prisoner admitted that he "savoit bien la tromperie" and that the way the game was played "il ny povoit reins perdre." He admitted to frequenting the company of a notorious "preneur de duppes," and further volunteered the information that a few days earlier he had cheated a young compagnon of two sous six deniers in a card game played in the cathedral of St. Etienne, explaining that he "ne povoit perdre pour ce quil mectoit et prenoit lesdictes quartes a deux personnaiges ... " The culprit was sentenced to be exposed on a ladder against the wall of the local butcher shop for two hours, to be publicly whipped at all the customary places and crossroads of the bourg, and finally to be imprisoned until he had made restitution to his victims.[152]

The narrow, tortuous, and dimly lit streets of medieval Bourges favoured the "larecins deliz et autres forfeiz"[153] which made urban life hazardous for honest citizens. Efforts to control nocturnal crime centred upon strict enforcement of the curfew. The *Coutumes* of Berry state that

> Toute homme qui est trouvé de nuyt par la Ville à port d'Armes, apres Quevre-feu sonné, est amendable & le Harnoiz confisqué, s'il n'y a clarté avec luy, car la clarté le sauve.[154]

The 1412 *ordonnance* allowed no citizens abroad after dark unless they were performing guard duty upon the ramparts or were attending to an urgent matter, in which cases they had to make their activities known by carrying a lit candle or torch. There does seem to have been a rudimentary night patrol, since royal sergeants and guards on the walls were empowered to imprison delinquents; an entry in the *bailli*'s fiscal accounts for 1304-05 records the payments of 57 s. 7 d. "Pro custodibus portarum ville Bituricensis de nocte . . . ."[155] The masters of inns, hospitals, and the poorhouse ("Maison-Dieu") were ordered to lock their doors at night so that their charges could not go out into the streets, presumably because it was felt they endangered public security.[156]

The seneschal emphasized that public safety was a general responsibility. All those who heard cries of alarm immediately had to respond with aid. In the event of fire, each had to bring a bucket of water,[157] for flames spread rapidly among the crowded wooden houses unless strenuous concerted efforts were made to contain them.

The *prévôt*'s or the seneschal's police duties also included ensuring that recipients of royal privileges were allowed to enjoy their rights in peace. For example, in 1210 Philip Augustus gave permission to the Abbey of Noirlac to change the course of the streets adjoining a house owned by the bothers, close by the church of St. Aoustrille in Bourges, on condition that they could prove to the *prévôt* that their possession of the house went back twenty years.[158] When this had been proven to his satisfaction, the prévôt undertook to enforce the king's command that the brothers be protected from harassment during the course of the roadworks.[159] On the reverse side of the coin, it was commonplace in such royal letters to enjoin officers of the Crown not to hinder the recipients' enjoyment of the conferred right, particularly where ecclesiastical privileges were concerned.[160]

In order to perform these extensive police duties the prévôt was endowed with comprehensive authority. As guardian of public order he was empowered to arrest all criminals, delinquents and vagrants with the assistance of his sergeants. When a case did not fall into his own judicial jurisdiction, he had the right to semondre, or summon the accused to appear before the tribunals of the bailli or of Parlement.[161] The records are full of instances when the prévôt was ordered by these higher courts to investigate cases.

The prévôt also had the task of confiscating the property of the king's debtors or of those so sentenced by the court, and auctioning it to the highest bidder. He also could imprison any man unable to pay a fine.[162] Evidently he had sometimes been rather precipitate in exercising these powers of confiscation, since in 1181 Philip Augustus decreed that the goods of the inhabitants of the town and Septaine could not be seized if they had given bail or security, nor could this security be confiscated until the case had been judged and the amount of the fine determined.[163] Surprisingly enough, Louis VII discharged the prévôt and the voyer from the right to approve the seizure of debtors' property as security by private creditors, who henceforth were permitted to proceed on their own authority.[164]

In addition to being the chief police officer, the prévôt was a judge presiding over a court of the first instance. His judicial competence was limited to the boundaries of his territory, thus excluding the ecclesiastical faubourgs. In 1181 the citizens of Bourges and the Septaine were accorded the right to plead before the royal _prévôt_ only in the town, and before the king himself only within the circumscription of the Septaine.[165] This was a valuable privilege since the hazards of medieval travel made journeying to distant courts of justice a genuine hardship. In 1147 the Archbishop of Bourges, Pierre de la Châtre, interceded with the regent Suger on behalf of Juvenal of Bourges and his son Arnulf who had been convoked before a judicial tribunal in Paris; he requested that the case be tried before the _prévôt_ since Juvenal was aged and "laborem equitandi sustinere non potest."[166]

The tribunal of the _prévôt_ in the twelfth century had full competence to exercise the king's prerogatives of high, middle, and low justice; cases ranging from the most minor misdemeanors such as blasphemy, or dumping garbage in the moats or the ancient Roman amphitheatre[167] to major felonies such as theft, homicide, and rape appeared before his bench.

A case brought before the prévôtal justice normally proceeded in this manner.[168] Legal action usually commenced when the aggrieved party made a formal complaint (_clamor_) to the _prévôt_; if the situation involved the king's rights prosecution could be launched by royal officials. After this initial step the parties could still reach an accord out of court, but they were obliged to indemnify the _prévôt_ for losing the income from the fine. Since the indemnity was often lower than the profits which the _prévôt_ could ultimately reap from the case, clearly it was not in his interests to foster such pre-trial agreements.

The unreconciled parties were served summonses to appear before the tribunal on a particular date. Prior to 1145 any man of Bourges who failed to answer the prévôt's or the voyer's summons was compelled to clear himself by a duel; Louis VII ordered that a simple oath (planum sacramentum) would suffice.[169] Evidently judicial combat had been frequently employed to decide even minor disputes, since for several of the agricultural infractions quoted above Philip Augustus specified that the accused could assert his innocence by swearing an oath "sine duello." By local custom a defendant could purge himself from a number of specified minor accusations by an oath of innocence, sometimes in conjunction with the pledges of others. For more serious offences, however, the twelfth century preferred the more brutal method of judicially-ordained duels or "batailles." It was the prévôt's duty to decide whether a duel was appropriate,[170] usually when there were no eyewitnesses to make the facts of the case obvious.[171] He also was responsible for regulating the conduct of the battle ("custodire curiam").[172]

The obvious inequities of meting out justice on the basis of strength of arms prompted Louis IX to abolish the duel throughout his domains in 1260. Instead judgements in both civil and criminal cases were to be founded upon the "prüeves de tesmoins."[173] Philip IV reluctantly modified this ordonnance in 1306 to admit judicial combat in cases of felony, but only if the charges could not be substantiated by witnesses.[174]

This new emphasis on the testimony of witnesses made the prévôt's investigative duties in court matters more important. His powers were slightly restrained in 1181 when he was ordered not to prosecute any citizen of Bourges upon the testimony of a member of his household.[175]

In the twelfth century the _prévôt_ could impose sentences of confiscation of property, and corporal, even capital, punishment. Fines were the most frequent mode of punishment, sixty _sous_ being the maximum which the _prévôt_ could levy.[176]

Finally, the _prévôt_ was an administrative officer, transmitting and publicizing royal _ordonnances_ and executing the king's commands on a great variety of matters.

It was the task of the _prévôté_ to sanction and record practically all types of transactions concluded within the town by affixing on the document the "scel royal estably en la prevoste de Bourges," as the usual formula went. Ordinary citizens sought the legal guarantee of the _prévôt_'s seal when they concluded business agreements,[177] contracts of apprenticeship,[178] wills and marriage contracts.[179] The municipal authorities also had prévôtal officers witness civic contracts, such as the farm of a tax collection contract for the Porte d'Auron in 1473.[180] This is an indication of the extent of the _prévôt_'s involvement in the conduct of municipal affairs, as is the fact that the accounts of the decisions taken by public assemblies were witnessed and certified with the seal of the _prévôté_.[181] Of course, these notary services were not provided without charging fees which were a handsome increment to the income of the _prévôté_.

Acting as the representative of the king, the _prévôt_ involved himself in any matter which in his opinion concerned the royal interests. For example, the 1445 assembly of artisans in the cloth industry to ratify additional work statutes was held in the presence of the "provost advocat procureur et autres conseillers du Roy."[182] In effect, the _prévôt_ had _carte blanche_ to intervene in the administration of the town wherever he saw fit. As lord of Bourges the king often concerned himself with

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surprisingly trivial matters which, one would have assumed, would normally have been attended to by municipal authorities. A good example is the edict issuing from the *curia regis* itself in 1268, stating that "Ad instanciam multorum bonorum, precepit dominus rex quod porce amoveantur et ejiciantur extra villam Bituricensem, quia, sicut dicitur, polluunt totam villam."[183] If the civic authorities were so ineffective that appeals had to be made directly to the king to deal with the problem of swine running rampant in the streets, it is not surprising that the *prévôt* as the king's executive officer should have a preponderate influence in civic affairs. Gravier has pointed out as a general maxim that in the so-called *villes de prévôté* the power of the *prévôt* was proportionate to the strength or weakness of the town as a corporate entity;[184] in Bourges this meant that the *prévôt* wielded considerable authority indeed.

The great responsibilities confided to the royal *prévôt* would suggest that he was carefully selected on the grounds of his competence and probity. Such was not the case. Just as a host of minor offices in the royal domain were put up for sale, so too the *prévôté* was farmed out to the highest bidder, regardless of his qualifications for the position. In 1202 the farm of the *prévôté* of Bourges brought 1910 *livres* to the royal treasury; the sum was adjustable according to the fluctuating value of the office's revenues.[185] In addition the purchaser owed annual dues of ten *livres* to the Grand Senechal of France.[186] The *prévôt* did not receive a salary, but rather was granted the revenues from the fines, fees, rents, and taxes which he collected in the performance of his duties.

As Luchaire has pointed out, the farming system imparted a semi-feudal character to this office. The *prévôts* were not true civil servants since they were not directly salaried; furthermore their

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jurisdiction with its territorial circumscription was to all intents and purposes a tenure held from the king and conceded by an investiture feudal in nature. This taint of feudal quasi-independence was on occasion deleterious to the king's direct control of his administration. However, the fact that the prévôt was usually a man of humble birth whose career was dependant upon the tenure of his office did check to some degree his inclinations to disobey the central authority.[187]

From the royal treasury's point of view, the farming system was convenient since the amount of expected revenues could be predicted with confidence.[188] On the reverse side of the coin, the very premise of the vendibility of offices is that the farmer would attempt to recoup his investment by diligently exploiting every possible source of revenue to its maximum potential. Ideally this self-interest could mean that duties were performed and rights enforced with great efficiency, but all too often such zeal was channelled into corrupt practises.

The years between 1290 and 1334 are particularly well documented in the abuses of prévôtal powers which the people of Bourges had to endure. The Parlement of 1290 condemned Camus de Meulan, a former prévôt of Bourges, to a one hundred livres fine for his misdeeds.[189] A series of directives from the Parlement in 1320 and 1321 concerned the pursuit of Hughes Codre (or Todre), who was accused of having forged letters to which he appended the royal seal during his tenure of the prévôté of Bourges.[190] In 1323 the bailli of Bourges was ordered to conduct a new investigation into several unspecified civil and criminal charges pending against Hughes and his brother Jean, who also had been prévôt of the same town.[191]

The Parlement was forced to intervene again in the administration of Bourges in 1330, when the current prévôts Girard du Pin and Etienne

Blanchard, who apparently held the farm simultaneously, were accused of "omicidia, ignis incendia, raptus, rapinus et plures alios excessus enormes."[192]

Ironically, the 1323 inquiry was conducted in part by Jean Brunet, himself to become one of the most notorious royal prévôts in medieval France. Like the Codre brothers, Brunet was prévôt in his native town, in direct contravention of an ordonnance of 1303.[193] The letters of remission, or official pardon, granted Brunet in 1334 chronicle a career which was the epitome of malfeasance. His exploits are too numerous to detail, as they fill fifteen closely printed pages,[194] but it is useful to describe a few since they reveal both the extent of the prévôt's power and the ease with which it could be abused to terrorize the townspeople.

Prior to becoming prévôt of Bourges Jean Brunet had served in the domanial administration as the procureur of Etienne Gougin, the then prévôt of Bourges, and as royal sergeant, as well as holding posts in the lands of the Count of Rouci and administering justice for the chapter of St. Ursin. As a royal sergeant he was in collusion with the prévôt of Bourges, Gilles de Soissons, to steal armour and jewels. He raped a chambermaid, menacing her with imprisonment if she did not comply. As procureur he tortured a pregnant woman, who within four days died in giving birth to a stillborn infant. He was banished from the bourg of St. Ambroix[195] after being convicted of larceny. Despite the unsavoury reputation which Brunet had acquired in his previous positions, he nonetheless was allowed to purchase the prévôté of Bourges.

In his new office Brunet excelled in the malversation of justice, habitually indulging in intimidation, extortion, wanton seizure of property, imprisonment without just cause, false accusations, and mutilation of prisoners charged with minor infractions, all with apparent impunity. There were numerous instances in which he accepted bribes for dropping charges, delivering false judgements or releasing prisoners before their trials. In order to ingratiate himself with the abbot of St. Ambroix, he delivered several murderers to the convent for trial who should have remained in the king's justice; Brunet's ban from the bourg was subsequently lifted. When the Lombards' property was confiscated by the king, he retained the goods instead of turning them over to the Crown. Brunet used the sergeants of the prévôté as his henchmen to abet him in rape and burglaries. His brother belonged to a ring of thieves who met to divide their booty in a house on the Rue de Boloines de Saint Perrine in Bourges. When the prévôt was obliged to arrest them, he engineered his brother's escape and released his cohorts from prison so that they would not inculpate their ringleader. Brunet's sister Agnès la Collasse also benefited from family connections; she was jailed for the theft of a silver chalice, whereupon her brother freed her without judgement and framed another woman in her stead.

The adminstrative duties of the prévôté further allowed Brunet a despotic control over Bourges. For example, during a famine he published at the request of the bourgeois a royal ordonnance forbidding the transport of grain outside the town, whereupon he conspired with several grain merchants to sell them illegal licences to contravene the regulation. At the same time he neglected to execute a sentence given several breadbakers who had been convicted of mixing pork impurities with their flour, his price being sixty sous each. By public cry he ordered that all swine be cleared from the streets, then immediately rounded up more than one hundred pigs whom he disposed of to his own profit, imprisoning the owners when they complained. Jean Cornu had "abati les entablissemens des murs le roy et en pava ses viviers et ses fossez"; the culprit gave the prévôt a bribe of fifty livres in return for a trifling fine of sixty sous, while the town walls remained "empiré de mil livres et de plus."

Public property also suffered under Brunet's régime. He borrowed eight large beds from the Hôtel-Dieu on the pretext of the arrival of important visitors, then refused to return them, "et par sa force a eu des biens des povres jusques à la value de cent livres et plus." The wily prévôt also found a way of acquitting himself of a thousand livres debt, which he owed St. Sulpice: he simply gave the chapter "une grande partie des pastureaus des sousterains qui estoient communs aus gens du päis ... et les toli aux bonnes gens par sa force ... "; the chapter was privy to the fraudulent transaction.

And finally, Brunet was involved in a murder at Bourges; the confession of an accomplice before his execution forced Brunet to flee the town, from which he was formally banished.

Brunet admitted to all these crimes. After a lengthy imprisonment at Châtelet in Paris, he eventually was arraigned, but later was released in honour of the knighting of John of Normandy. He failed to appear at his trial and so lost his bail. Upon recapture the royal prosecutor demanded that Brunet "soit condempnez à perdre corps et biens." But the cunning prévôt managed to escape his just deserts, for Philip VI granted him a full gracious pardon, ostensibly because he had suffered sufficient hardship during his imprisonment.

While the régime of Jean Brunet is conspicuous for its extreme corruption, his case was by no means an isolated one. There were numerous attempts to restrain and define the prévôt's powers, such as that of

Louis VII in 1145. In 1302 Philip IV ordained that if prévôtés were sold or farmed, they were to be granted to

> talibus commendetur personis quae fideles & idonae reputentur & bonae famae, quae sint bene salvendo, non Clerici, non usurarii, non infames, nec suspecti circa oppressiones subjectorum.[196]

All too often, however, such reforms remained dead letters. The core of the problem lay not so much in the character of the incumbents as in the farming system itself, which begged for abuses. There were sporadic attempts to abolish the farming of prévôtés in the fourteenth century, but every time the old system reasserted itself.[197]

It was not until 1471 that the farm of the prévôté of Bourges was abolished, well after the majority of other French towns. In response to a petition by the townspeople, Louis XI agreed that

> doresenavans ladite prevoste ... sera baillee & donnee en garde par nous & noz successeurs a quelque homme notable & souffisant de ladite ville ou dailleurs tel quil nous plaira lequel sera tenu de bien & deuement faire & executer ladite prevoste sans et que doresenavans elle soit plus baillee a ferme ... [198]

Henceforth the prévôt would hold a lifetime appointment, instead of tenure on an annual basis. A certain element of the farm was retained, however; Louis XI made the proviso that the "exploiz & amandes" of the prévôté be farmed "au plus offrant et derrenier encherisseur" who would surrender the revenues he collected to the Ordinary Receiver of the bailliage of Berry.[199]

The Bailli

A major difficulty of this system of local royal administration was that the prévôts exercised their extensive powers without immediate supervision, in districts distant from the central government. Philip Augustus sought to remedy this situation by the creation of baillis, first mentioned in 1190, who were to hold assises one day per month in domanial lands to hear appeals, render justice without delay, and record abuses of royal power.[200]

Initially the baillis seem to have been itinerant justices, without definite territorial circumscriptions, similar to those in England under Henry II; however, in the reign of Louis IX bailliages with boundaries came to be established, within which the multiple judicial commissions were conferred upon a single bailli.[201] Probably Berry was among the first bailliages created, since a document of 1210 refers to Bertrand de Tornel and Eudes de Fulchcort as being baillis twenty years before.[202] In an arrêt of 1271 the Parlement of Paris fixed the boundaries of the bailliage of Berry; the royal towns of Bourges, Issoudun, and Dun-le-Roi, as well as several towns in the comtés of Nivernais and Bourbonnais, all were included within this jurisdiction.[203] In 1285 Bourges became the chief administrative centre of the bailliage.[204]

The baillis differed from the prévôts in that they were professional, appointed civil servants from a more elevated social milieu, usually from the bourgeoisie or the petty nobility. They were educated jurists, often products of the universities or former municipal or apanage officials who had proven their abilities in the lower echelons of the bureaucracy.[205] Their local vested interests were kept to a minimum, since their tenure of one bailliage was on the average two to three years, after which they were transferred to another region.[206] The fact that they were directly salaried officials rather than farmers was germane to their close liaison with the central government; in 1276 the bailli of Berry received annual wages of 320 livres parisis and an allowance of 120 livres parisis for clothing and horses, paid in three equal installments. In addition he could receive bonuses and rewards in the form of lands and rents on an extraordinary basis.[207]

This is not to imply that *baillis* were invariably scrupulous officials. Philippe de Prie, as captain of the king in Berry in the 1350's, used highly unprincipled tactics in executing the duties of his office. Two law suits were still in process when he became *bailli* of Berry in 1357. He was invited to swear his oath of office at the *Chambre des Comptes* "sub condicione si placeat populo patriae," but as Timbal remarks, after the sinister reputation which de Prie had earned in Berry, that rider could only be a stylistic flourish.[208] Such cases notwithstanding, it may be confidently asserted that the *bailli* was generally an officer of higher calibre than was the *prévôt*.

The primary task of the *bailli* was the surveillance of the activities of the *prévôts* and other subordinate royal servants within his jurisdiction. This mandate gave the *bailli* authority in every sphere--judicial, administrative, domanial, financial, and military. His power to check abuses was centred mainly upon the assises where he heard appeals from the lower courts. The *Coutumes* of Berry well describe the relationship of the different jurisdictions:

> ... le Prevost de la Ville de Bourges est Juge ordinaire en ladicte Ville & Septaine de Bourges pour y exercer jurisdiction ordinaire ... Et Monseigneur le Bailly de Berry est Juge souverain immédiat dudit Prevost, pour cognoistre des causes d'Appel à son Siège de Bourges, & avoir sur luy Jurisdiction souveraine immédiate; & aussi peult & doit mondict Seigneur le Bailly par preventions ou committimus du Roy audit Siege, exercer jurisdiction & cognoistre *Etiam in prima Instantia*, de toutes causes comme ledict Prevost.[209]

Once a litigant had exhausted the processes of the courts of the *prévôt* and the *bailli*, he had recourse to a final court of appeal in the Parlement of Paris; he could not however appeal directly from the *prévôt* to the Parlement, for the case would be sent back to the *bailli*.[210] When a sentence of the *bailli* was appealed, he was required to appear before Parlement as a respondent in the case.[211]

The power of the *bailli* to judge a case even in the first instance allowed him to usurp much of the *prévôt*'s judicial competence. By the thirteenth century the *prévôt*'s jurisdiction was largely confined to civil matters while only the most minor criminal cases could appear before his bench.[212] While it cannot be said that the *prévôt*'s judicial role became negligible, nevertheless the records throughout the period under study reveal a general trend in which the *bailli*, and especially his lieutenant, played an ever greater role in initiating litigation, undertaking investigations, and pursuing criminals. Often the *prévôt* is not mentioned in judicial records, suggesting that increasingly complaints were made directly to the lieutenant general of the *bailli*, particularly when there was any connection with domanial administration.

In the financial sphere, the *bailli* assumed the task of rendering the accounts of the domain in Berry, receiving the revenues from the *prévôt* who was still responsible for their collection.[213] Another important financial function of the *bailli* was to act as a sort of auditor of the fiscal activities of his subordinates.

The *bailli* also sometimes concerned himself with small details of domanial administration, such as granting Pierre de Buxi permission in 1316 to open a passageway in the *cité* walls to connect his houses on either side.[214]

The *bailli*, himself often a knight, also had military attributes, having the ultimate responsibility for the general security of his *bailliage*. For example, in 1422 when Charles VII was resident in Bourges, the bailli Perceval de Boulainvilliers was given two hundred livres "pour lui et douze compagnons demeurez en sa compagnie en la ville de Bourges pour la garde et seureté d'icelle."[215] It is noteworthy that the bailli Jean de Vendôme, prince of Chabonais, was absent from Bourges when the revolt erupted in 1474, and his lieutenants were left to deal with the insurgents.[216]

The bailli imparted a certain aura of regal majesty and sovereignty to local royal government of which the farmer-prévôt was incapable. Yet if the prévôt was reduced to a mere magistrate and intendant by the fifteenth century, he nonetheless remained the royal official the most intimately involved in the more mundane concerns of the people of Bourges. The fact that the bailli was responsible for overseeing other prévôtés and castellanies in his territory meant that he was frequently absent from Bourges and so had to leave much of the daily administrative details to his subordinates. The flagrant abuses of office which a prévôt like Jean Brunet could commit for an extended period before finally being checked indicates that constant supervision by the bailli was desirable but not always feasible. The bailli expended a great deal of administrative energy in the investigation rather than the prevention of bureaucratic corruption.

The voyer

Before examining the auxiliary officers in the royal service at Bourges, brief consideration should be given to the enigmatic voyer or viguier (in Latin, vicarius or viarius). The origins and the precise relationship of the voyer of Bourges to the seigneurial administration are now impossible to ascertain. The voyer has been identified with the ancient *vicomte* of Bourges,[217] possibly because Jacquelin Trousseau was *voyer* in 1283,[218] and the Trousseau family held the hereditary honorary title of *vicomte* of Bourges in the fifteenth century.[219] Although the two positions may well have blended into one by the end of our period, the possibility that they were originally identical is dispelled by a document apparently drawn up about the time of the entry of Bourges into the royal domain, which lists the customs "quod vicarium Bituriae urbes ita habuit Humbodus vicarius . . . Et ita dedit Odo Arpinus, et Philippus Rex Franciae Humbodo Borbonensi."[220] This statement suggests two things: first, that the *voyerie* was an office originally connected with the *vicomté* and which survived the transfer to royal lordship; and second, that the office was conferred by the *vicomte* and his successor the king, contrary to Raynal's claim that there was nothing to suggest a royal investiture.[221]

But it still remains open to question just how much control the lord exercised in the choice and the conduct of the *voyer*. Originating in the Carolingian period, by the eleventh century the *voyer* seems to have been the delegate of the *vicomte* in a district called the *vicaria*. According to Brussel, the office was a hereditary benefice held in fief,[222] thus eliminating any effective control by the lord; Luchaire however adds that often in the North and the Midi the urban *voyer* was removable and charged with purely administrative duties.[223] Unfortunately the sources for Bourges are reticent regarding the *voyerie*, so we have no idea if the office was hereditary or feudal, as at Beauvais,[224] appointed as at Paris, or farmed out as at Le Mans.[225]

It is generally assumed that with the establishment of royal lordship the *voyer* became the adjunct of the *prévôt* in his judicial and administrative functions, his secretary so to speak.[226] Certainly the term voyer is always coupled with that of the prévôt in twelfth century royal charters reforming administrative abuses. The list of "customs" mentioned earlier reveals that the functions of the prévôt and the voyer did coincide to a large extent (see Appendix D).

The boundaries of the judicia vicarii, or the jurisdiction of the voyer of Bourges, are described as extending from the mill of Aloy to Pignoux on one side, and to the mill of Estays on the other; thus his territory encompassed only the town and its immediate environs.

The voyer was entitled to a number of fees and fines from law enforcement and judicial processes, in which, initially at least, he seems to have had a substantial role. He could receive formal complaints from citizens of both the cité and the faubourgs, issue summonses, and hold the offender in custody until his trial. Anyone who captured a thief was required to surrender him to the voyer. He shared with the lord fines for rape, armed quarrels, and the illegal possession of weapons, which were confiscated to his profit. No private creditor could seize his debtor's security without the voyer (at least until 1145). Anyone who broke the voyer's ban was subject to a fine. The voyer was authorised to penalise anyone constructing buildings in the street or damaging the walls of the cité.

The voyer also reaped revenues from the marketplace. Bread bakers, seamstresses, and leather vendors required a licence from the voyer; "foreigners" from outside the town had to pay him one denier for the right to enter the market and ply their trade. The voyer was to inspect measures for food, wine, and grain. He could fine anyone placing or removing stones from the marketplace.

In addition to these police duties the *voyer* collected taxes in money or in kind from the vendors of a vast array of goods. Among the foodstuffs were meat; a variety of salt- and fresh-water fish such as salmon, herring, and eel; bread, wine, leeks, garlic, and salt; geese and sheep were among the livestock adding to the congestion of the marketplace. Hardware such as iron, knives, axes, barrel hoops, rakes, forks, hammers, and lathes were available; other stalls offered miscellaneous items such as benches, chests, and even lounging beds, fishtraps, screens, candelabra, baskets, weapons, halters, and glass. The carts and mules who bore this merchandise to market were taxed according to the nature of their loads.

Most of these revenues were divided between the *voyer* and the lord, suggesting that the *voyer* was an executive officer who enforced seigneurial rights and dues. Evidently prior to 1145 there were several *voyers* who were increasingly demanding of the local population, since Louis VII ordained that there should be only one *voyer* to each *voyerie*, whose functions were subject to the same restrictions as those of the *prévôt*.[227]

In fourteenth century Normandy the equivalent of the *voyer* continued to have important judicial and financial responsibilities, holding courts of pleas, executing orders of higher courts, administering the royal domain, and collecting its revenues.[228]

In Bourges, however, it seems very likely that by the thirteenth century the *prévôt* had managed to arrogate to himself the actual attributes of the *voyer*'s office. The last reference to the *voyer* in royal charters is the confirmation of the 1145 *ordonnances* by Louis VIII in 1224; other charters of the period discuss only the royal *prévôt*. It is also noteworthy that, aside from these two royal charters, the aforementioned customs, and the customs of the Duke of Berry, the voyer does not seem to appear in any extant documents such as court records, in which one would expect the occasional reference were he actually performing his administrative and judicial duties. The office did re-emerge from prolonged obscurity in 1285 when the Parlement of Paris ordered that Jacquelin Trousseau, former guard of the prévôtal seal at Bourges, should have the fines "pro transgressione banni monetarum" to the value of sixty sous as well as all the other fines belonging to the voyer.[229] It is probable that by this time the office had been reduced to an anachronism, an honorary post without real functions, which nevertheless retained its revenues.

Auxiliary domanial officers

As the administrative capital of Berry, Bourges was home to a host of auxiliary royal servants only a few of whom can be mentioned here. Among the most important was the royal procureur, or advocate, who was charged with instigating litigation and defending the interests of the Crown before the tribunals of the prévôt and the bailli. It was the procureur, or more occasionally the bailli himself, who initiated challenges to ecclesiastical privilege in the town.

Both the bailli and the prévôt had lieutenants who acted as their proxies and were delegated the same powers, especially in rendering justice; royal mandates were customarily addressed to the lieutenants as well as to their superiors. In addition the prévôt had an officer assigned to keep the seal of the prévôté and to notarize documents, which were drawn up by a clerk.

The prévôt and the bailli were assisted in all their functions by sergeants, who kept public order, made arrests and executed sentences, and collected fines, taxes, and dues. Their tactics earned them the hearty dislike of the local population. Louis XI recognized the "abus et exactions qui se faisoient et advenoient chacun jour tant à l'occasion de la grant multitude des sergens qui estoient en nostre ville de Bourges et bailliage de Berry [que l']ignorance de ceulx qui estoient sergens," and ordered the prévôt to fire all the current royal sergeants; henceforth their number in Berry would be limited to 120 who were to be "expertz et conguessons pour l'exercise dudit office."[230]

One of the more unusual officers was the master of the royal mint (Hôtel des Monnaies) established at Bourges. A seigneurial mint had functioned in Bourges since Carolingian times,[231] and continued its operations once the town had entered the royal domain; documents of 1129 and ca. 1150 refer to rents paid in "Bituricensis monete."[232] A curious case brought before the Parlement of Paris in 1265 reveals that the mint had long since laid dormant. A man popularly recognized as the "magister monete et custos cuneorum" petitioned to be relieved of the obligation to give the king one salmon a year as part of the dues of his defunct office, since the mint had not been in operation in living memory. The man died bofore judgement could be given, but his heirs successfully continued the case,[233] an indication that the post was hereditary. The mint was officially closed in 1359.[234] John of Berry reopened it during the siege of 1412, despite the fact that the right to coin money was explicitly reserved to the king in the letters creating his apanage. His nephew the Dauphin manufactured his coins there for the Kingdom of Bourges from captured English coins which were melted down under the direction of the master of the mint, Jacques Coeur.[235] The mint continued intermittently to produce royal coins, even in 1465 when Bourges was part of the apanage of Duke Charles.[236] The personnel of the mint and their families enjoyed many privileges which set them apart from their fellow citizens of Bourges, such as exemption from all *tailles*, subsidies, and impositions whatsoever, the charges of hospitals and churches, and the prerogative not to be cited before any jurisdiction other than the *Cour des Monnaies*, except in cases of felony.[237]

The police responsibilities of the *prévôt* extended to the royal prison, which was ordinarily used for temporary detention rather than the punishment of convicted criminals. At Bourges the first prison was located in a Gallo-Roman tower near the Porte Gordaine, then later was transferred to another tower in the public staircase now known as the Passage Casse-Cou close by St. Pierre-le-Puellier.[238] The custodian's duties were farmed out to the highest bidder. Evidently he in turn received a fee, or *geolage*, from the prisoners; the domanial fishermen of Bourges received the dubious privilege of exemption from paying the tax when they were incarcerated for civil misdemeanours, provided each newly admitted member to the guild gave the jailer a leg of pork.[239] Doubtless the jailer eked out a penurious existence, and was not impervious to subornation; in 1323 Perrin de la Queuz was accused of accepting a bribe to allow some Jews and other miscreants to escape from his prison, as well as of forging letters.[240]

Indeed, corruption was rife throughout the entire domanial administration. Sporadic efforts were made by the central government to control abuses; individual offenders might be brought to justice if the local people dared be vociferous in their complaints.[241] But malfeasance is a cancer which permeates the system, especially when it is founded on self-interest as was local government in medieval France. Instead of a piecemeal attack on malversation, Louis XI appointed a commission in 1469 to investigate the administration of the bailliage of Berry, with instructions to inquire into the qualifications and remuneration of servants, plurality of offices, the misuse of funds, and abuses of power.[242] Such efforts at reform were commendable but only marginally effective, and the inhabitants of Berry had stoically to adapt to corruption in their government.

There were few alterations of importance in the structure of the domanial administration when Berry was erected into an apanage in 1360. The government of Duke John was a direct imitation of parallel institutions in the royal domain.[243] Many changes were in name only; the ducal seneschal replaced the royal bailli but his duties remained the same.[244]

The real difference was one of impact: the residence of the Duke in Bourges allowed him to intervene frequently and forcefully in local affairs, and to exercise a stricter supervision of his officers. The Duke's prominence at court allowed him to appropriate many prerogatives normally reserved to the Crown, so that he ruled his apanage in virtual sovereignty. In 1366 he persuaded Charles V to permit him to hold annual Grands Jours in Paris or in his lands, a sovereign court of justice "auxquieux l'en ressortira sanz moien de ses baillifs ou ses autres juges et non a Nous ou autre court ... "[245] Thus the Berrichons now had to appeal to the Duke's high court instead of the Parlement of Paris.

In 1379 John created his own Chambre des Comptes, with its offices permanently established at Bourges on the Rue de la Narette. The officers held complete control over the finances of John's personal household and the Duchy of Berry, keeping minutely detailed accounts of the receipts of the domain from which they paid salaries and authorised all expenditures.[246]

The highly developed fiscal management of the ducal Chambre des Comptes stood Charles VII in good stead when he established his own financial officers in Bourges in 1422 for his fledgling government. It was not until 1436 that a royal Chambre des Comptes was set up in Paris,[247] and Charles did not order the transfer of the accounts and registers of the Chambre and the royal mint from Bourges to its new location until the 31 July 1439.[248] Thus departed the last vestige of Bourges' heyday as the capital of France.

The Kingdom of Bourges was the culmination of over three centuries of deep involvement by the Crown in the affairs of the Berrichon capital. There were certain advantages to this close relationship: Bourges' development and privileges did not threaten the ambitions of a local feudal lord, nor was the town subjected to the tug-of-war between the king and its feudal lord experienced by many municipalities such as Beauvais. But if Bourges enjoyed a normally tension-free, amiable relationship with its royal lord, his extensive prerogatives nonetheless inhibited the development of viable municipal institutions. The king had a great measure of control over justice, police, defense, commerce, and general administration in the town, jurisdictions which came under the purview of the civic government in more independent municipalities such as the communes. Those urban institutions which did develop had to do so with the approval of the king and under the surveillance of his vigilant local officials.

Footnotes

[1] Louis Raynal, *Etude historique sur les coutumes de Berry* (Paris: Bureau de rédaction de la Revue de législation, 1840), 14.

[2] Charter of Louis VII regarding the *banvin* (1141) (*CL*, 61-62). See also the list of revenues from the *tonlieu* divided between the king and St. Sulpice compiled probably in the reign of Louis VI, which witnesses attested was the custom "tempore Arpini et tempore regis Phylippi ... " From Cartulary A of St. Sulpice, pub. by Buhot de Kersers, "Essai de reconstitution," 173-175.

[3] For example, Fliche, *Règne de Philipps ler*, 123, 128.

[4] William Mendel Newman, *Le Domaine royal sous les premiers Capétiens (987-1180)* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1937), 65.

[5] See Arch. Cher C 812 for homages to John of Berry, and Arch. Cher C 814 for the domain of Charles of Berry.

[6] *Olim* 1: 68 no. 15.

[7] Emile Chenon, *Les Jours de Berry au Parlement de Paris de 1255 à 1328* (Paris, 1919), 51-52 and n. 1-3. In any case, Philip Augustus had already indemnified Notre Dame de Sales in 1190 with a rent of thirty *sous parisis* on the dîme of the wine from Tremblay. (Delaborde, *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 436-437, no. 360.)

[8] Arch. Nat. J 421 no. 12, *vidimus* of two letters of 1316-1321; cited by Gueneau, *Sources parisiennes*, 96.

[9] Boyer, *Enceintes de Bourges*, 107.

[10] Arch. Cher C 812 fol. 15v°. In 1390 another tower in the *quartier* was rented to the mason Jean Duby for fifty *sous tournois* per annum (ibid., fol. 11r°-v°).

[11] *HB* 2: 590-592.

[12] Arch. Cher C 812, passim.

[13] See Chapter 1 , 59.

[14] E. Hubert, "Fragment d'une compte du domaine du duché de Berry (1423-1426) concernant la ferme des étaux [et] des changeurs de Bourges," *MSAC* 43 (1929): lii-lvi.

[15] The *Coutumes* of the Duke of Berry; see Appendix C.

[16] Ibid.

[17] "Viso privilegio S. Ursini Bituricensis, pronunciatum fuit quod

in burgo suo priori et capitulum retinere non possunt scambsorem, nisi habeat stallum ad Scambium et solvat stallagium, sicut alii scambsores de villa Bituricensi." (Olim 2: 83).

[18] Hubert, "Comptes du domaine du duché," lii.

[19] Ibid., lii, lvi.

[20] Arch. Cher 9F 47.

[21] F. Lot and R. Fawtier, Premier budget, CXCI.

[22] Emile Chénon, "Etude sur les droits seigneuriaux relatifs aux vignes et au vin, d'après les chartes et coutumes du Berry," MSAC 27 (1903): 258.

[23] " ... Augusti scilicet mense et Martii, tribusque annalibus festis, Pascha scilicet, Pentecoste et Natale, horumque octobas integris, ab omni banno libera civitas permanebit." (Ordonnances 11: 190).

[24] The privilege was originally granted by Philip Augustus (1181). Arch. Mun. AA 2 fol. 1-3 (copy of 1652); AA 3 fol. 1-3 (vidimus 3 May 1509); confirmed by Louis VIII (1224), Louis IX (1233), Philip III (1274), Philip IV (1293); pub. CL, 64.

[25] Quoted by Chénon, Jours de Berry, 163 n. 1.

[26] Olim 2: 58-59, no. 16.

[27] RHGF 22: 575. The revenue remained fairly constant, at least in 1248 when 160 l. 60 s. 3 d. was received from the ban (RHGF 21: 272).

[28] Arch. Cher 8G 1952. Original act of donation by John of Berry: "In ea super riparia de yevra extramuros et in suburbiis civitatis nostra Bituricensis in parrochia sancti privii situata molendina Le Roy vulgariter nuncapata." The canons of the Sainte Chapelle took possession the 1 July 1402 (ibid.). The donation was confirmed on 7 December 1404 (Arch. Cher 8G 1447; see also 8G 1954).

[29] Arch. Mun. HH 22.

[30] HB 2: 536.

[31] Arch. Nat. J 387 no. 21; Arch. Cher 3F 11 no. 33 fol. 7 (ms. copy by Charles Barbarin).

[32] See a letter of Philip VI (13 August 1344) arbitrating a dispute between the royal procureur and the chapter of St. Etienne regarding this privilege (Arch. Cher 8G 911).

[33] Arch. Cher 8G 1956.

[34] Ibid. Two letters of 16 March 1474 and 2 June 1475.

[35] Boyer, "Corps et confréries," *MSHLASC* 28 (1914): 101.

[36] Grant of 1178 or 1179 of Louis VII (Luchaire, *Actes de Louis VII*, 332 no. 744).

[37] Gueneau (*Sources parisiennes*, 124, 268) lists letters of 1365, 1367, 1371, and 1405 regarding the annual rent of sixteen *muids* of wheat due the monastery.

[38] Arch. Cher 8G 911.

[39] Arch. Nat. J 189 Berry no. 15; indicated by Gueneau, *Sources parisiennes*, 90.

[40] See, for example, the declaration of homage to John of Berry by Guillaume Petit-Jean, bourgeois of Bourges, for "ung molin ablé assis devans l'église de molins" (at Moulins-sur-Yèvre in the Septaine?) plus other properties for an annual rent of twelve *livres* (15 September 1395) (Arch. Cher C812 fol. 10).

[41] Arch. Cher 4H 133 fol. 2r°.

[42] Boyer, "Corps et Confréries," *MSHLSAC* 27 (1913): 181.

[43] Ibid., 181.

[44] *CL*, 290.

[45] Arch. Nat. KK 250 r°v°; Maurice Rey, *Le Domaine du roi et les finances extraordinaires sous Charles VI 1388-1413* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1965), 255 n. 5.

[46] Arch. Cher C 812 fol. 13v°-14 (28 August 1402). In 1461 Jean Turpin, bourgeois of Bourges, paid homage to Charles of Berry for the same "coustume et maistrise des exercant en toille et en draps ... " (3 February 1461) (Arch. Cher C 814 fol. 1v°).

[47] Arch. Cher C 812 fol. 15v°-16 .

[48] See Emile Turpin, *Les Anciennes Mesures à grains du Berry* (Bourges, 1922).

[49] For example, in 1402, an annual rent of a *sextier* of oats, according to the measure of Bourges, was paid in the parish of Senestay (Arch. Cher C 812 fol. 14). In 1539 Marguerite of Navarre made the measure of Bourges the standard throughout Berry. (Turpin, *Mesures*, 11.)

[50] "Si quis convictus fuerit habere falsam Minam, septem solidis & sex denariis, is emendabit, & mina frangetur." (*CL*, 69).

[51] Ibid., 339-340.

[52] Hubert, "Compte du domaine du duché," liv.

[53] Turpin, *Mesures*, 8.

[54] *CL*, 341.

[55] "Praeterea, Praepositus aut Vigerii mestivas, hospicia capere consueverant, in Septena, sed hanc consuetudinem excepit penitus & dimisit ... De bobus autem, in quibus mestivas accipimus, statutum ab ipso est, ut quicumque bovem, post festum Sancti Michaelis acceperit, usque in sequentes messes, mestivam nullatenus reddat." (*Ordonnances* 1: 10).

[56] The 1145 charter uses ambiguous phrasing for this clause: "Per harum itaque dimissionem pravarum consuetudinem, omnes villani consuetudinarii qui per se sunt, & familiam tenet, cartallum unum frumenti Regiae Majestati annuatim persolvere firmaverunt: Pro divisione, vero quarrorum, de unoquoque bove rusticorum consuetudinariorum, quartallum similiter unum frumenti, & de unoquoque rustico consuetudinario, ordei minam unam." (*Ordonnances* 1: 10). The 1224 charter uses clearer wording, and also reveals that Louis VIII was more exigent than his predecessors: "Pro pravarum itaque Consuetudinem remissione & quittantia, statutum est, ut unusquisque Villanus Consuetudinarius, qui per se est, Bovem non habens, Regiae reddat Majestati unum Quartallum Frumenti, & Minam Hordei; & iterum pro quittantia Charierorum pro unoquoque Bove suo reddat unum Quartallum Frumenti." (Arch. Mun. AA 2 fols. 3v°-4v° copy of 1652; *CL*, 66-67).

[57] "De fossoribus, autem, quartallum unum, quod servientes habere solebant." (*Ordonnances* 1: 10 and n. [m].)

[58] "Porro de his mestivis praeceptum est ut ad justum minam praefatae civitatis reddantur." ibid., 1: 10.

[59] Delaborde, *Actes de Philippe Auguste* 1: 64 no. 46.

[60] For this interpretation of the *hauban*, see Brussel, *Usage des fiefs* 1: 531-532; Raynal, *Histoire du Berry* 2: 14; *Ordonnances* 1: 10 n. (1). However, some authors differ from this definition which tends to focus upon the rural population, regarding the *hauban* as the price of the lord's authorisation to practise a trade or engage in business (e.g., Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume*, 164). W. M. Newman goes so far as to say that "A Bourges les paysans sont restreints à le payer [le hauban] trois fois par an sous peine de ne pouvoir continuer leurs affaires." (*Domaine royal*, 36). However, even if the term *hauban* may refer to the licence to practise a trade, it would seem that, in the context of this charter, the clause refers to the labour services imposed upon the peasants, the extent of whose involvement in business affairs may be questioned.

[61] "Praepositus autem atque Vigerius quotiescumque volebant, halbannum, submonebant, & villanos sese redimere coercebant; de quo quoque praeceptum ab ipso est, ut illa redemptio halbanni remaneat, & halbanum [sic] tamen ter in anno fiat, termino competenti, sine omni redemptione rustica sua negotia amittant & hoc consilio bonorum virarum ipsius cititatis." (Ordonnances 1: 10).

[62] Ibid., 1: 9, 10.

[63] Ibid., 1: 10.

[64] Luchaire, Institutions monarchiques 2: 256.

[65] CL, 68-69.

[66] See Chapter I, p.

[67] DuCange, Glossarium 3: 647.

[68] Lot and Fawtier, Premier budget, 142, 144, 146. At this period the prévôté of Bourges also included the town of Issoudun.

[69] Ibid., 143, 145, 147.

[70] Luchaire, Institutions monarchiques 2: 119, 158. Henri Sée in Les Classes rurales et le régime domanial en France au moyen âge (Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière, 1901) also attributes to the commune the quality of a "noble collectif" entered into the cadre of feudal society.

[71] Augustin Thierry, Documents inédits 1: xxxv-xxxvi; quoted by Carl Stephenson, "The Aids of the French Towns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," reprinted in Bryce D. Lyon, ed., Medieval Institutions: Selected Essays (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954, 1967), 36.

[72] Luchaire, Institutions monarchiques, 347 no. 2.

[73] Léon-Louis Borelli de Serres, Recherches sur divers services publics du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle, 3 vols. (Paris, 1895-1909; Geneva: Slatkine-Magariotis Reprints, 1974) 1: 467-527.

[74] Ibid., 313, 325-326, 367ff.

[75] For the distinction between guet and arrière-guet, see CL, 35; Lacour, Gouvernement de l'apanage, 285.

[76] Arch. Mun. FF 22.

[77] Lacour, Gouvernment de l'apanage, 285.

[78] Ordonnances 13: 160-161. A similar case led to the intervention of Queen Charlotte, consort of Louis XI, in favour of the illuminator Jean Colombe, who was being compelled to "fere le guet et la porte" at

Bourges to the detriment of his royally commissioned work. (Bib. Nat. *fonds français* 2916 fol. 13; quoted by Sée, *Louis XI et les villes*, 152-153).

[79] Arch. Cher 4H 202 no. 1 (copy of 31 March 1747); another sixteenth century copy may be found in Arch. Cher 8G 1804. See also René Lacour, "Les Pêcheurs royaux de Bourges au Moyen Age," *MSHLASC*, 4th series 29 (1931-1932): 146-164.

[80] Arch Cher 3F11 (ms. copy Charles Barbarin).

[81] The first reference we have of cannons in Bourges is an entry from 1370 in the accounts of the Duke of Berry for payment of forty *sous* to "Duverne, le coustelier, pour cannons qu'il a faiz, du commandement de Monseigneur, pour mettre en la grosse tour de Bourges dont le Seneschal a la garde ... " (Toulguet-Tréanna, "Comptes de l'hôtel," 115).

[82] See above, Chapter 1, 79.

[83] F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, 3rd ed. rev., trans Philip Grierson (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 88-89.

[84] *CL*, 68.

[85] *Olim* 1: 902 no. 111.

[86] Borelli de Serres, *Services publics* 1: 490.

[87] Stephenson, "Aids of the French Towns," 31.

[88] Ibid., 26.

[89] *RHGF* 22: 575.

[90] John Bell Henneman, *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France: The Development of War Financing 1322-1356* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), 4, 322-327.

[91] *HB* 2: 587-588.

[92] Henneman, *War Financing*, 312.

[93] Edouard Audouin, *Essai sur l'armée royale au temps de Philippe Auguste* (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1913), 32-33.

[94] See Hippolyte Boyer, "Notes historiques sur les confréries d'archers, arbalétriers et arquebusiers de la ville de Bourges," *Mémoires de la Commission historique du Cher* (1857), 1-15.

[95] *Ordonnance* pub. by Isambert, Decrusy and Jourdan, ed., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*, 29 vols. (Paris: Belin-le-Prieur, 1821-1833) 9: 169-174 (hereafter cited as Isambert, *Anciennes lois françaises*). On the urban *francs-archers* under Charles VII and Louis XI, see Gandilhon,

Politique économique, 195-203.

[96] Arch. Mun. CC 257 fols. 61r°-62v°.

[97] Gandilhon, *Politique économique*, 203.

[98] Pub. by Audouin, *Armée royale*, 123-129, pièce justificative no. 1.

[99] Edgard Boutaric, *Institutions militaires de la France avant les armées permanentes* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1863), 204.

[100] Borelli de Serres, *Services publics* 1: 490.

[101] *CL*, 67. Here *tolta* may be regarded as a synonym for *tallia*. La Thaumassière regarded *ab omnia tolta* as the equivalent of *ab omni teloneo*, i.e., the *tonlieu*. It is very probable that Louis VII did not have this interpretation in mind, since he and his successors continued to collect the lucrative *tonlieu* at the town gates (ibid., 71; see also Toubeau de Maisonneuve, "Aides royales et impositions municipales dans la ville de Bourges," *MSAC* 6 [1875-1876]: 141). However Carl Stephenson points to charters granted to other towns dating from 1085 and 1186 in which *tolta* is substituted for *tallia* ("The Origin and Nature of the Taille," in *Medieval Institutions*, 41, 58 and n. 46).

[102] Stephenson, "Taille," 92, 93.

[103] Ibid., 94.

[104] Henneman, *Captivity and Ransom of John II*, 227, 282.

[105] Henneman, *War Financing*, 18-19.

[106] Ibid., 92.

[107] Henri Furgeot, *Actes du Parlement de Paris 1328-1342*, 2 vols. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit & Co., 1920) 1: 102 no. 986.

[108] *RHGF* 21: 272.

[109] Luchaire, *Manuel*, 578-579; Stephenson, "Aids of the French Towns," 4 n. 5. In this respect the *aide pour le cas de croisade* which Louis VII attempted to raise in 1147 may be discounted since it was an exceptional case of indeterminate character. See Luchaire, *Institutions monarchiques* 1: 126.

[110] "Responsum fuit, pro civibus ipsis, quod [ad] auxilium sibi debitum minime tenebantur, cum talia nonquam solverint, nec in partibus illis solvi consueverint, et maxime cum ab hujusmodi [consuetudine] quitti sint per cartam suam regiam [que] eos a tolta, tallia bocagio et culcitrarum exactione omnino liberat." (*Olim* 1: 848-849 no. xxviii).

[111] "E contra dicebatur pro Rege quo predicta verba carte non

juvebant eosdem, cum illud quod ab eis petitur non sit tolta, tallia, bocagium, sive culcitrarum exactio, set quoddam jus domino Regi debitum, de regni consuetudine generali, in quo non sufficit aliquem allegare quod non solverit nisi, contra consuetudinem hujusmodi speciale privilegium ad sui defensionem ostendat. Quod autem dicebat non esse consuetum in partibus suis persolvit talia, non faciebat pro eis, cum ipsi de servitute manumissi, de quibus, ante manumissionem, pro voluntate sua capere poterant et levare, nullam contra jus commune libertatem vel quittanciam proponere valeant, nisi quantum a manumittente domino fuerit eis concessum." (ibid.).

[112] Ibid., 849 nos. xxix, xxx.

[113] Stephenson, "Aids of the French Towns," 32-33.

[114] Olim 1: 903 no. lvi.

[115] Stephenson, "Aids of the French Towns," 35, 36.

[116] HB 2: 587-588.

[117] See Henneman, War Financing, 93-107; Actes du Parlement 1: 79-80 no. 779 for the protest of Bourges and fifty-eight other towns against a levy of 150,000 l. tournois promised by the inhabitants of the sénéchaussée of Carcassonne.

[118] Furgeot, Actes du Parlement de Paris 1: 196 no. 2030.

[119] Henneman, War Financing, 106.

[120] Actes du Parlement 1: 276 no. 2821.

[121] This is the theme of Henneman's second volume of his study on royal taxation in fourteenth century France: The Captivity and Ransom of John II 1356-1370.

[122] Arch. Mun. EE 7. The supposition that the Berrichon contingent was called for this campaign is based upon a similar order to Lyons for artillery and five hundred livres tournois for the army raised under the command of the counts of Auvergne, Périgord, and Cominge (Charavray, Lettres de Louis XI 4: 166 no. DXXXIII).

[123] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 323-324. The document is only dated 25 February; La Thaumassière placed it in the year 1479.

[124] Arch Mun. CC 257 fol. 60r°.

[125] Gasquet, Institutions politiques 1: 37; quoted by Borelli de Serres, Services publics, 507 n. 1.

[126] Carl Stephenson, "Taxation and Representation in the Middle Ages," in Medieval Institutions, 124.

[127] Labbé, Histoire abrégée, 194, 195.

[128] See Luchaire, Louis VI le Gros, 31 no. 58; idem, Institutions monarchiques 2: 313, 320-321. The list of customs divided between the king and St. Sulpice refers to "tempore Hugonis de Rua Nova praepositi" (see Appendix C).

[129] Thus in 1148 or 1149 Suger addressed a letter to the "praepositis Bituricensibus et servientibus domini regis" (Lecoy de la Marche, Oeuvres complètes de Suger, 255-256).

[130] Henri Gravier, Essai sur les prévôts royaux du XIe au XIVe siècle (Paris: Librairie de la société du recueil généfal des lois et des arrêts, 1904), 174-175.

[131] Ibid., 20-21; Lot and Fawtier, Premier budget, 6, CXCV.

[132] See Arch. Cher C 812 for acts of homage rendered to John of Berry.

[133] See Appendix for the list of tonlieu revenues divided between the king and St. Sulpice.

[134] For a detailed analysis of the expenditures of the prévôté see Gravier, Prévôts royaux, 23-35; Lot and Fawtier, Premier budget, 84ff.

[135] Lot and Fawtier, Premier budget, 85.

[136] Ibid., CLIV.

[137] Ibid., CXCV.

[138] CL, 69; Ordonnances 11: 222-223.

[139] CL, 338.

[140] Arch. Mun. FF 22.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid,; CL, 339.

[143] CL, 338.

[144] Arch. Mun. FF 22.

[145] Ibid.

[146] CL, 339.

[147] Arch. Cher J 691 (ms. notes of H. Boyer).

[148] Pub. by Isambert, *Anciennes lois françaises* 1: 276. This repeated an *ordonnance* of 1254 (ibid. 1: 273), and was reiterated yet again by Louis IX in 1269 (ibid. 1: 347), which serves to indicate the inefficacy of the measures taken.

[149] Arch. Cher titre scellé 309 (23 September 1439).

[150] *CL*, 339.

[151] Arch. Mun. FF 22.

[152] Arch. Cher 14G 236 (*vidimus* of 1464). Although this case was tried by the justice of St. Ursin, it does illustrate the problem of gambling in the town.

[153] Arch. Mun. FF 22.

[154] *CL*, 339.

[155] Arch. Cher 3F 11, fol. 6 (ms. copy by C. Barbarin).

[156] Arch. Mun. FF 22.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Pub. by Delaborde, *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 261, no. 1166.

[159] The receipt of the *prévôt* has been published in *HB* 2: 267-268.

[160] For example, the confirmation of the immunity of the cathedral cloister by John of Berry in 1411 (Arch. Cher 8G 276 fol. 5r°-6v°).

[161] Luchaire, *Institutions monarchiques* 1: 227-228.

[162] *CL*, 334-335.

[163] Ibid., 68, 316.

[164] "Prava rursus consuetudo Bituris tenebatur in fidejussoribus. Quod fidejussoribus sui Vademonium capere, sine consensu Praepositi, seu Vigerii, nullus audebat; de quo praeceptum est ab ipso, ut quicumque fidejussorem habuit, sine clamore aliquo ad Praepositum, sive Vigerium facto, Vadimonium qui secure capiat." (*Ordonnances* 1: 9-10 and n. [g]). Luchaire interpreted this clause as ordering that official approval was necessary for a private creditor to distrain on his debtor's property. (*Institutions monarchiques* 1: 228 n. 4). However, the working of the text quite clearly states that the contrary was the case.

[165] "Homines Bituris manentes, & Homines Septenae extra Bituricem Urbem per Praepositum nostrum non placitabunt, per nos autem infra totam Septenam placitabunt & non extra." (*CL*, 68).

[166] RHGF 15: 703 no. 1; see also no. 2 and 15: 502-513 no. 55 for similar requests.

[167] CL, 341; idem, Nouveaux Commentaires, 420.

[168] See the ordonnance of Louis IX of 1270 (Isambert, Anciennes lois françaises 2:363-367). See also Gravier, Prévôts royaux, 47-53.

[169] "Praepositis urbis praescriptae, sive Vigerius, aliquem hominem ad se mandebat & dicebat, mandavi te ad me, & contempsisti venire, fac mihi rectum de despectu. Hanc autem Consuetudinem sic Pater noster [Louis VI] emendavit, praecipiens, ut si ille negare potuerit per unum planum Sacramentum, transeat, & pro despectu aliquo nullum duellum faciat sicut ante esse solebat." CL, 62.

[170] Luchaire, Institutions monarchiques 1: 228.

[171] See Boutarie's commentary in the Ordonnances 1: 87, n. (f).

[172] Gravier, Prévôts royaux, 49.

[173] Ordonnances 1: 86-93; Isambert, Anciennes lois françaises 1: 283-290.

[174] Isambert, Anciennes lois françaises 1: 435-441.

[175] CL, 68. "Insuper, Praepositus noster adversus aliquem supra dictorum hominem per hominem mense & cibo suo nihil poterit probare vel desirationare."

[176] Olim 1: 123; RHGF 24; 705-706.

[177] Such as that concluded in 1453 between a cloth merchant of Bourges and a farmer at Levet concerning the sale of fifty sheep (Arch. Cher E 4729 fol. 16).

[178] For example, the contract of apprenticeship for the trade of making gibecières, a type of purse, sealed in 1476 (Arch. Cher E 1217 fol. 14v°-15v°).

[179] For numerous examples of such civil contracts, see Arch. Cher E 1216 and E 1217.

[180] Arch. Mun. CC 134.

[181] For example, the assembly of 1308 called to consider Philip the Fair's ordonnance concerning the Templars (Picot, Etats généraux et assemblées, 663) and the election of town officials in 1429 (La Thaumassière, Histoire du Berry 1: 315-316).

[182] Arch. Mun. CC 134.

[183] Olim 1: 733, no. xxiv.

[184] Gravier, *Prévôts royaux*, 59.

[185] Brussel, *Usage des fiefs* 1: 426, 509.

[186] Ibid. 1: 509.

[187] Luchaire, *Institutions monarchiques* 1: 216, 234, 237.

[188] Gravier, *Prévôts royaux*, 10

[189] *Actes du Parlement* 1: 265 no. 2710.

[190] Ibid. 2: 328 no. 6142 (24 August 1320); 386 no. 6499 (24 August 1421); 399 no. 6537 (20 November 1321); 400-401 no. 6550 (24 November 1321).

[191] Louis Douët-d'Arcq, ed., "Lettres de rémission pour Jean Brunet, prévôt de Bourges," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 17 (1856): 72-73, Appendix 1.

[192] Ibid., 73-74, Appendix 2.

[193] Gravier, *Prévôts royaux*, 14 and n. 5, 6.

[194] Douët-d'Arcq, "Lettres de rémission," 57-72.

[195] Douët-d'Arcq considers the "bourc de Saint Ambroix" to be Saint-Ambroise-sur-Arnom, a village in the vicinity of Issoudun. But in the fourteenth century this village would have fallen within the *prévôté* of Issoudun, not Bourges. There is nothing in the document to indicate that this was not the faubourg of Bourges belonging to the abbey of the same name. (ibid., 58 n.2).

[196] Brussel, *Usage des fiefs* 1: 425-426.

[197] Gravier, *Prévôts royaux*, 16-17.

[198] Arch. Mun. FF 2(A 735).

[199] Ibid.

[200] "Et in terris nostris quae propriis nominibus distinctae sunt, Ballivos nostros posuimus, qui in ballivus suis, singulis mensibus, ponent unum diem, qui dicitur *Assisia*, in quo omnes illi qui clamorem facient, recipient jus suum per eos, & Justitiam sine dilatione, & nos, nostra jurae, & nostram Justitiam: & forefacta quae proprie nostra sunt, ibi scribentur." Brussel, *Usage des fiefs* 2: viii; Isambert, *Anciennes lois françaises* 1: 179.

[201] Lot and Fawtier, *Institutions françaises au moyen âge* 2, *Institutions royales*: 145-147.

[202] *HB* 2: 267-268.

[203] *Actes du Parlement* 1: 163 no. 1756; Lot and Fawtier, *Institutions françaises* 2: 155. It should be noted that both terms "*bailli* of Bourges" and "*bailli* of Berry" in reference to the same officer were used commonly by contemporaries and historians alike.

[204] Gravier, *Prévôts royaux*, 153 (Appendix).

[205] Louis Carrolus-Barré, "Les baillis de Philippe III le Hardi--Recherches sur le milieu social et la carrière des argents du pouvoir royal dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle," *Annuaire-bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France* (1966-1967), 123-124.

[206] Lists showing the patterns of transfers and tenure of office in the *bailliage* of Berry and elsewhere have been compiled by Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, "Bailliage royal de Berry," *Gallia Regia ou Etat des officiers royaux des bailliages et des sénéchaussées de 1328 à 1515*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1942) 1: 370-400; François Maillard, "Mouvements administratifs des baillis et des sénéchaux sous Philippe le Bel," *Bulletin philologique et historique jusqu'à 1610* 1 (1959): 407-430, 2 (1963): 898-1912, 3 (1966): 623-638.

[207] Carolus-Barré, "Baillis de Philippe III," 133, 137.

[208] Timbal, *Guerre de Cent Ans*, 68-71 and n. 224; 95, 96.

[209] *CL*, 315.

[210] Ibid., 262.

[211] Chénon, *Jours du Berry*, 312.

[212] Gravier, *Prévôts royaux*, 39-40.

[213] Lot and Fawtier, *Institutions françaises au moyen âge*, 149.

[214] Antoine Thomas, "Documents inédits sur le mur d'enceinte en la cité de Bourges (1316-1322)," *MSAC* 37 (1914-1916), 172-173.

[215] Dupont-Ferrand, "Baillage royal de Berry," 374.

[216] Ibid., 374.

[217] *Ordonnances* 1: 9, n. (c).

[218] *Olim* 2: 232 no. 15.

[219] See Arch. Cher 8G 1948 for the documents regarding the law suit in the 1470's between the Sainte Chapelle and the heirs of Artault Trousseau, described as "en son vivant vicomte de Bourges"; see also La Thaumassière, *Histoire du Berry*, 82.

[220] Louis de Kersers, "Essai de reconstitution du Cartulaire A de

Saint-Sulpice de Bourges," *MSAC* 35 (1912): 232-236 (see Appendix D). La Thaumassière pointed out that the *voyer* was "improprement appellé Vicomte" (*Histoire du Berry*, 80).

[221] *HB* 1: 326.

[222] Brussel, *Usage des fiefs* 2: 717-718.

[223] Luchaire, *Institutions monarchiques* 1: 217-218.

[224] L-H. Labande, *Histoire de Beauvais et de ses institutions communales jusqu'au commencement du XVe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1892), 151.

[225] Brussel, *Usage des fiefs* 2: 738, 753.

[226] Fliche, *Règne de Philippe Ier*, 160; Luchaire, *Manuel*, 552.

[227] *Ordonnances* 1: 10.

[228] See Joseph R. Strayer, "Viscounts and Viguiers under Philip the Fair," *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 213-231.

[229] *Olim* 2: 232 no. 15.

[230] Bib. Nat. *fonds français* 5727, fol. 124; Arch. Cher 3F 11 (ms. copy by Charles Barbarin). No date is given, but it must be 1474 or thereafter, since the *prévôt* named, Raoulet de Castello, was appointed after the revolt.

[231] See the essay by D. Mater, "Les Monnaies de Bourges aux Xe et XIe siècles: les immobilisations carolingiennes berruyères," *MSAC* 17 (1890): 229-292.

[232] Alfred Gandilhon, *Catalogue des actes des archevêques de Bourges antérieurs à l'an 1200* (Bourges-Paris, 1927), 70 n. 133; L. Buhot de Kersers, "Essai de reconstitution," 138.

[233] *Olim* 1: 615-616, n. 6.

[234] Hippolyte Boyer, "La Monnaie de Bourges," *MSHLASC* 1 (1868), 2nd series: 89.

[235] See Jean Chenu, *Recueil des Antiquitez*, 175-177; Paul Chenu, "Au Sujet de monnaye du duc Jean de Berry," *MSAC* 45 (1934): 147-154; Pierre Clément, *Jacques Coeur et Charles VII: L'administration, les finances, l'industrie, le commerce, les lettres et les arts au XVe siècle: Etude historique* (Paris: Didier & Co., 1873), 73-75, 132.

[236] Stein, *Charles de France*, 487 and n. 1.

[237] These privileges were confirmed by Charles VI in 1400 and by Charles VII in 1447. See Boyer, "Monnaie de Bourges," 94.

[238] A. Buhot de Kersers, Statistique monumentale 2: 292.

[239] Arch. Cher 4H 202 no. 1 (original 14 July 1403; copy 31 March 1747).

[240] L. Douët-d'Arcq, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes 17 (1856): 74, Appendix 3.

[241] For example, in 1281 the Parlement condemned Godfrey Heriçon, servant in the bailliage of Berry, to a fine of forty livres tournois plus compensation to the victims of his malversation of office (Olim 2: 142 no. 11).

[242] Pub. by Albert de Grossouvre, "Sur des instructions inédites de Louis XI," MSAC 37 (1914-1916), 205-212.

[243] This is the central theme to Lacour's study Le Gouvernement de l'apanage du duc Jean de Berry.

[244] Ibid., 188.

[245] Arch. Nat. J 185A, no. 13; pub. in ibid., 45-46.

[246] Arch. Nat. J 185B, no. 45; pub. in ibid., 66-70. See also R. Monestier, "Note sur une maison de Bourges: L'ancienne Chambre des Comptes du duc Jean de Berry," MSAC 40 (1921): 212-224.

[247] Monestier, "Chambre des Comptes," 214.

[248] La Thaumassière, Histoire du Berry 1: 317-318.

CHAPTER III

THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

It has occasionally been asserted, on highly tenuous evidence, that medieval Bourges was a commune.[1] That this was never so is the only categorical statement which one may make with some confidence of its municipal government. The townspeople did not even have a formal _corpus et communitas_, as they pointed out when they were convoked before the Parlement of Paris in 1345.[2] Hence, strictly speaking, Bourges could not even be considered to be a juridicially constituted community.

The absence of a communal charter meant that the community was defined in a haphazard fashion by an amorphous collection of customs and privileges, as was typical with the _bonnes villes_. Where these rights were formalised in royal charters, they were in every case conferred upon the individual citizen of Bourges, not upon the civic community _per se_. Thus before probing the form and function of the municipal institutions, we first must try to gain a clearer idea of the judicial identity of the townsman himself.

Just as the Capetian kings had lightened the load of domanial services, so too they abolished those seigneurial rights which implied the personal dependence of their subjects of Bourges. Foremost among their motives for thus relinquishing some of their prerogatives of lordship was the desire to increase the prosperity of their domain, and hence its profitability. One of the most effective ways of stimulating urban development was to assure the liberties and security of the inhabitants. In Bourges the Coutumes summarised these guarantees:

> La Coustume de la Ville & Septaine de Bourges est Terre franche, & Habitans & Demourans en ladicte Ville & Septaine sont francz & de franche Condition, sans tache de Servitude: & en ladicte Ville & Septaine, nul Seigneur ne Personne quelconques n'a ne peut & ne doit pretendre aucune Suyte de Gens Serfz Habitans & Demourans dedans les Fins & Mettes de ladicte Ville & Septaine de Bourges, ne sur iceulx exiger aucun droit ou devoir à cause de la Personne, & du Corsaige d'iceulx Manans et Habitans, ne d'aucuns d'eulx, ne iceulx mortailler ou pretendre Mortaile sur eulx, ne aucun d'eulx.[3]

This emancipation was however a gradual process; in 1270 the king's advocates still could argue before the Parlement of Paris the principle that in common law general serfdom existed in Bourges, and the inhabitants were freed from servitude only in the specific instances stated in the charters of emancipation.[4]

The primary move was made by Louis VI when he made Bourges a place of refuge; anyone coming to the town either to stay or to leave his possessions there was under the safeguard of the king, even if the lordship whence he came was hostile to the Crown.[5]

Of equally great significance to the security of towndwellers was the abolition of mainmorte, since this succession tax gave the lord effective control over the disposal of their possessions after their deaths.[6] In 1224 Louis VIII confirmed the original act of Louis VII abolishing this exaction, "gravis et omnino exasperans," for both the indigenous population and those coming to settle at Bourges.[7] This enfranchisement however was applicable only to those resident in the royal cité; the inhabitants of the suburbs were still subject to their ecclesiastical lords irrespective of the liberties granted their fellow townsmen by the king. In 1224 the chapter of St. Etienne followed the royal example in freeing from mainmorte its men dwelling in the cité or its bourg, but the charter stipulated that men from the chapter's estates outside the town could not come to Bourges to die so that their heirs might profit from the franchise.[8] Even some permanent residents of Bourges long remained mainmortables, for in 1278 the Parlement of Paris confirmed that the convent of Charité-sur-Loire could continue to subject its men living in Bourges to this onerous and humiliating tax.[9]

The inheritance of property was also freed in other ways from the trammels of seigneurial prerogatives. The royal domain had the right to confiscate all the property of legally incapacitated persons (so-called "foreigners," or aubains, and bastards);[10] but in 1145 Louis VII confirmed the concession that "extranei vero qui Bituris venerint, & ibi se se aedificaverint, & regni fuerint, bona sua parentibus suis demittere licebit."[11] In 1181 Philip Augustus gave the inhabitants of Bourges the right to choose "quatuor proborum hominum villae Bituricensis" to act as trustees for the inheritance of their children.[12] Louis VII agreed that the property of a resident of the town who died intestate would no longer revert to the domain, but rather the natural heirs would be permitted to inherit; where there were no heirs, ten "probos homines" from the parish were to distribute the property for the good of the defunct's soul.[13]

The remarriage of widows was also of interest to seigneurs because it often entailed the transfer of property. Louis VII freed the widows of Berry from the necessity of seeking the prévôt's permission before they could enter into a marriage contract.[14]

The franchises of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries allowed the inhabitants of Bourges freely to own and dispose of ordinary property, rights eventually enjoyed by most towndwellers in medieval France. In

1437 the people of Bourges acquired a particularly privileged status, when as a reward for their loyal service Charles VII allowed them to acquire and possess noble fiefs, arrière-fiefs, and other noble possessions, without paying any fees to the royal domain.[15]

Initially at least these privileges and liberties probably applied only to the royal sector of the town, to the exclusion of the ecclesiastical faubourgs. It is very likely that originally even the tag "town air makes free" held true only for the cité. It would seem however that the Berrichon lords allowed their rights to fall into desuetude, although they made a belated and futile attempt to revive them in 1539 when the Coutumes of Berry were revised.[16] La Thaumassière firmly states that "la Coustume passe pour anciennce et constante" that the entire town plus the Septaine enjoyed the royal franchises.[17]

Although this general applicability came to be assumed, it was nonetheless important to know just who in the town was still a serf, and who enjoyed the protected status of bourgeois du roi. With the institution of the bourgeoisie, the liberties which were associated with a specific locale were attached to the person of the bourgeois, so that he carried his privileged status wherever he went in the kingdom.[18] The system became rife with abuses, which Philip IV attempted to remedy by ordonnances of 1287 and 1303 regulating all the bourgeoisies of the realm, including the bourgeois du roi.[19]

According to the procedure laid down by these edicts, the aspirant to the bourgeoisie of a town, who could be either male or female, had to present himself to the prévôt or mayor. In the presence of two or three local bourgeois he paid his entry fee and swore to build or purchase within a year and a day a house in the town worth at least sixty sous parisis. This house would both establish his residence in the town and serve as security for any debts he might contract against the municipality. Once this registration had taken place, a sergeant accompanied him to notify his lord of his new state. Only then could he style himself a bourgeois. His former lord nevertheless had three months to bring the new bourgeois before his seigneurial justice for any misdeeds he might have committed during the three months before he was received into the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois was required to pay all his debts in any town in which he was formerly resident, or divest himself of all bonds tying him to his old seigneurie. He was obligated to pay "toutes les talles, les jurées et les frez de la ville ou il sera receuz bourgois." After the qualifying residence of a year and a day, the bourgeois maintained his status by living in the town with his wife from All Saints Day (October 31st) until the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 23rd). In Bourges, however, after the initial year the bourgeois had to be present in the town only at the feasts of Christmas, Pentecost, and All Saints, provided he maintained his house there.[20]

These ordonnances were intended to clarify such difficult situations as one which the dean and chapter brought to the attention of the Parlement of Paris in 1288. The plaintiffs argued that one Jehan Godefroy was "homs dormi dou Dean et dou chapistre, taillables et redevables a leur volenté selonc lusage que leur autre home sont à Bouourges ... "; in flagrant contravention of their rights, "li diz Jehans se desaveue a estre leur home et s'aveue a estre home le Roy et que a tort les gens le Roy ont receu le aveu."[21] It is most likely that the status Godefroy had sought was that of a royal bourgeois, although the phrase "homme le roi" might also indicate that he was merely seeking to transfer from one lordship to another. The outcome of the case is not known, but one cannot resist the suspicion that the domanial officers used the bourgeoisie du roi as a weapon in their constant clashes with the ecclesiastical powers in Bourges.

A resident of Bourges might have cause to rue his failure to follow the correct procedure for entering the bourgeoisie du roi. In 1368 the procureur of John Duke of Berry tried to compel Jehan Beraut to pay the taille and mainmorte on the grounds that he was of servile condition. Beraut countered that he was a "franc bourgeoys de Bourges pour ce quil avoit demoure en la cite de Bourges par trois ans et par ainsi devoit estre franc bourgeoys"; furthermore he produced a letter of manumission granted to his family by the lord of Sully, whereby he was "afranchiz de toute taiche de servitude." The court found this evidence insufficient, however to support his claim to free status. The Duke of Berry graciously accorded Berault his own letters of manumission, for the price of sixty francs d'or.[22]

The institution of bourgeoisie du roi implies a class set apart from the other freemen of the town. Certainly the requirement that the bourgeois establish a residence valued at at least sixty sous parisis suggests a certain, if modest, economic status. But one should be wary of any attempt to equate the bourgeois du roi with those bourgeois referred to in the stock phrase "bourgeois manants et habitants" appearing in the documents pertaining to the town in the latter part of our period. There is no evidence that a rigid tripartite division of the urban population existed on judicial grounds; royal charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are variously in favour of the homines, populus, and burgenses of Bourges, with no apparent discrimination in the application of the privileges imparted. It was inevitable that economic wealth should create class differentiation within the town, and the more prosperous citizens proudly used the title "bourgeois de Bourges" in their official records. But this honourary, and doubtless self-assumed, title never seems to have imparted any special privileges in the eyes of the law. The modern scholar should hesitate to impose a de jure class structure which may well not have been recognizable to contemporaries.

One may assume therefore that the right of the so-called justice des bourgeois was not exercised by a dominant class, but by the citizens at large. This jurisdiction of the bourgeois was the most unusual and intriguing customary privilege enjoyed by the people of Bourges, giving each the right to trial by his peers.

References to the justice administered by the inhabitants themselves appear in the earliest royal charters. The 1145 charter of Louis VII states "Quod si infra Urbem aliquid fori fecerint, pro Laude Baronum ipsius Civitatis emendabunt, & res suas, quo voluerint asportent."[23] Philip Augustus' confirmation of his father's charter directs that property given as security or bail cannot be seized "donec Probos Homines Bituricis manentes secundum Villae Consuetudines sit judicatum, quid vel quantum pro foris-facto illo . . . debent emendare."[24] The charter abolishing mainmorte orders that anyone contravening the act is subject to be fined "per judicium Proborum Hominum."[25] A charter of 1181 decrees that anyone found damaging the walls of the cité will be fined "postquam per Probos homines ipsius Civitatis, ad quos omnia judicia Villae ejusdem & Septenae ab antiquo dignoscuntur pertinere facienda, judicatum fuerit quid murum pejoraverit."[26] It is evident, then, that when Bourges entered the royal domain the king's justice had to accommodate a pre-existing system of justice rendered by the townspeople themselves.

La Thaumassière described the functioning of this justice des bourgeois thus:

> Le Jugement en la Terre du Roy se faict à Bourges par les Bourgeois, tant en cas Civil comme en cas Criminel, ... et aussi jugent les Bourgeois les amendes du Roy, ne ja ne feront le Bailly, le Prevost ne les Sergens à leur jugement, ne aultre Officier du Roy aussi, se ils n'y sont comme Bourgeois ... Les Habitans de Bourges tiennent le Jugement en leur main jusques a tant qu'il soit fait, soit par ung ou par deux ou par plus, tant en cas Civil comme en cas Criminel, ne ne peut estre appellé de leur Jugement a aultre que au Roy en Parlement, ne en ce cas le bailly n'est adjourné, fors les Habitans seulement et la partie pour qui le Jugement est donné ne le Prevost aussi: mais se lesdicts Bourgeois jugent mal, et qu'il soit dict en Parlement mal jugé et bien appellé, lesdicts Bourgeois payeront soixante Livres Parisis d'Amende, parce qu'ilz ne sont pas Juges royaux; car si Juge non royal donne une folle Sentence il est amendable.[27]

A decree from the Parlement of Paris of 1299 indicates that the bourgeois of Bourges had the authority not only to deliver a verdict in civil and criminal cases, but also to declare the customary law:

> La ou aucune coustume est à prouver, le juge mande les usagiers et les coustumiers du pays et les plus anciens, et leur expose la coustume: et les fait jurer, la coustume exposée, qu'ils en dirent la vérité ... : lesquels se trayent à part et ont deliberation ensemble, et à leur retour, ils font dire par l'ung d'eulx, en la présence de tous, ce qu'il leur semble, et se ils sont d'ung accord que la coustume qui exposée leur a esté est telle, elle est tenue pour prouvée: et à Bourges les jugemens sont fait par les Bourgeois, car la coustume est à eux garder, et la faict prouver par dix tesmoings, et s'appelle tourbe.[28]

In 1262 the townspeople argued before the Parlement of Paris that by custom participation in the justice des bourgeois was limited to the bourgeois of Bourges and the knights (milites) of the Septaine. The clergy of Bourges claimed the right to take part in these judgements; the laymen objected on the grounds that a clerk could not be held accountable before a royal court for his judgement. The king decreed that four representatives of St. Etienne, and two from the other churches and abbeys in the town, could be members of the jury, but the prévôt was not obliged to summon them, so their presence was not necessary for a valid judgement. The dean of the cathedral in return agreed that the clerical judges would be held responsible for their verdicts before the royal courts.[29]

The tribunal of the justice des bourgeois was competent to pass judgement on all sorts and conditions of men. In 1261 the Count of Sancerre petitioned the Parlement of Paris that his case be heard before his noble peers in another assize at Aubigny, not before the bourgeois justice of the town and Septaine. The townspeople vehemently objected, pointing out that their ancient jurisdiction pre-dated that of Aubigny, and further, that that court would be prejudiced because the majority of the knights judging were the Count's relatives and retainers. The Parlement decided that the Count should be tried before the tribunal of Bourges, since not only the town bourgeois but also the clergy and the knights of the Septaine were members.[30]

No less a personnage than the Duke of Berry had to submit to the judgement of the justice des bourgeois, in 1387 when he challenged some ancient customary rights of the college of St. Ursin. The report of Jacquelin de Blet, lieutenant general of the bailli, gives us an idea of the procedure followed when the bourgeois participated in the king's justice. The trial took place "en la presence des Bourgoys de Bourges jugeanz en ceste partie et furent requis par ledit procureur desdiz honnorables [les chanoines de St. Ursin] estre fait droit et Jugement sur ycelles." The day passed as the bourgeois heard the arguments of the procureurs of St. Ursin and of the Duke. The lieutenant general declared that "aujourduy ausdiz Bourgoys seanz pour jugement nous avons baille a juger lesdiz proces et enquestes en la presence desdiz procureurs." After deliberating together the bourgeois passed sentence in favour of St. Ursin "et a este juge par lesdiz Bourgoys tous dune voix et accord sans aucun discord et a nous rapporte par la bouche de maistre Mace Rolant Bourgeois du Bourges du consentement de tous les autres Bourgeois de Bourges assistens audit jugement." The lieutenant general thereupon enacted the judgement.[31]

It is evident from this document that the trial was conducted in the presence of the royal officer in whom the royal justice was vested, be it the prévôt, the bailli or their deputies. He could not participate in the deliberation over the verdict, but he did "baille à juger le process," or instruct the jury, and the sentence was carried out by his authority.

In this case it was the counsel for the plaintiffs who demanded a trial by the bourgeois. This concurs with a fifteenth century collection of Berrichon customs which states that

> ... par la coustume ancienne usage et commune observance le Jugement de toutes causes et querelles qui sont appoinctees a oyer droit interlocutorement ou deffinitivement par monseigneur le Bailly de Berry et prevost de Bourges ou par leurs lieutenans en ladicte ville et septaine de Bourges apartient et compete a faire ausdits bourgeoys Jugeans quant lediz parties plaidoyans ou lune dicelles demande et requiert avoir droit [excepté le] Jugement des causes criminelles criminellement poursuictes et tendans ad fins criminelles et corporelles qui appartiennent ausdictes Bourgeoys et non a autres soit requis et demande ledit Jugement et droit estre fait par lesdits bourgeoys ou non.[32]

The proviso that the bourgeois were called upon to judge a civil case only upon the request of one of the parties involved would explain why some documents indicate only a royal officer presiding as judge whereas in other similar cases the bourgeois exercise their jurisdiction.[33] Of course, in circumstances where the community of inhabitants was itself engaged in a law suit, the bailli delivered the sentence on his own authority (per suam pronuntiavit).[34]

In view of the extraordinary judicial privileges of the autonomous ecclesiastically governed bourgs, it is rather surprising to find laymen sitting in judgement in their temporal courts. In 1286 the bourgeois in the bourg of St. Etienne participated in the sentencing of two thieves arrested in the cathedral cloister.[35] The inhabitants of the bourg St. Ursin seem to have been particularly active in exercising their judicial prerogative. In 1419 a swindler was sentenced in the presence of the bailli of the college of St. Ursin and eighteen bourgeois who are named, "et de plusieurs autres bourgeois manans et habitans audit bourg."[36] In 1464 the bourgeois of St. Ursin heard the case of a young delinquent who had been plaguing the authorities in several jurisdictions. Guillaume des Roches had capped a career of petty crime by stealing wood from the Hôtel-Dieu of Bourges. Taking note of his incorrigeable nature, the bourgeois sentenced him to be "batu et fustige es quatre quarrefours de ladite justice dudit lieu de Saint Ursin" and banished him from the bourg.[37]

It appears that the bourgeois had some choice as to whether they sat in judgement on a particular case. In 1471 the bailli of St. Ursin heard Gaultier Perdrix confess to several thefts, then summoned the bourgeois living in the bourg and informed them of the case. "Et ce fait ledit bailly avoit dit ausdiz bourgoys que on luy avoit dit quilz avoient jugement criminel de ladite justice se bon leur sembloit." The bourgeois requested that the court adjourn so that they might consider the matter; when it reconvened some time later, "lesdits bourgoys avoient dit quilz ne jugeroient point ledit prisonnier pour ceste foiz et quilz estoient contens que ledit bailly ... le jugeast."[38]

Although this was but one instance Morjardet argues that this indicates that with the passing of time the bourgeois lost interest in the exercise of their judicial powers.[39] If this was indeed the case, it is hardly surprising, for it is difficult to see what the townspeople really stood to gain from them. Their judgements were subject to appeal to the Parlement of Paris, and they alone were held responsible for them since the bailli had no part in their deliberations.[40] Sometimes the Parlement upheld their verdicts, such as that delivered against Ytier de Megnac in 1264 by only three judicatores.[41] In such cases the appellant would have to pay a fine.[42] The tables were turned if the appeal court decided that the bourgeois had given a "folle sentence," and they were understandably reluctant to risk a substantial fine of sixty livres parisis should the judges in Paris construe the facts of the matter differently.

One may conclude then that throughout our period custom allowed the bourgeois of the cité, together with the clergy and the nobility of the Septaine, to participate in the royal civil and criminal justice. That these judicial prerogatives were vested in all the people of Bourges is proven by the activities of bourgeois juries in the ecclesiastical bourgs. This justice was rendered in the presence of royal or clerical authorities, but was clearly identified with the bourgeois judges themselves.

The exercise of such customary rights as the justice des bourgeois, and the enjoyment of administrative, judicial, military, and economic privileges, could not help but foster the development of a sense of community among the townspeople.[43] Such a community, founded and functioning by custom, presents an enigma to the historian, utterly dependent upon the written record. In the absence of any charter describing the civic government, it is often only in court records of disputes that facets of the administration are brought to light for us. The destruction of much of the municipal archives of Bourges renders even more obscure the hazy civic history common to many bonnes villes. But while such ill-defined customary communities are the bane of the historian, it should be remembered that they satisfied the needs of the inhabitants of most domanial towns, whose personal aspirations seem to have been more in the social and economic than in the political vein.

In 1689 La Thaumassière wrote:

> La ville de Bourges était autrefois gouvernée par quatre Prud'hommes, qui étoient élus par les Bourgeois, et ausquels le jour de l'Election ils passoient Procuration pour le Gouvernement de la Ville et des Affaires Communes.[44]

This has long been adopted as the definitive statement on the municipal government of medieval Bourges. Since the great antiquarian was imprecise as to the era he was describing, enthusiastic historians have attributed the origins of the institution of the prud'hommes to the Gallo-Roman period,[45] while more conservative scholars have confidently discussed its existence in the twelfth century.[46] Historians of local and of national stature uncritically assumed the antiquity of the prud'hommes of Bourges until the iconoclastic essays of Chénon and later Monjardet demonstrated that there is no documentary evidence whatsoever to support the existence of this institution prior to the mid-fourteenth century.[47]

In part the confusion seems to have arisen with the erroneous identification of the late medieval elected town magistrates with the repeated references to boni viri, barones, and probi homines in the royal charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; as we have seen, these references can be explained by the customary justice des bourgeois. Luchaire goes so far as to use this identification as a base for his theory for the origins of municipal government in the villes franches, arguing that the feudal tribunal of the bourgeois evolved into magistrates responsible to the inhabitants for the town administration.[48] The mistake is a natural one, since in many communal and prévôtal towns of northern France such as Saint Quentin, Laon, Amiens, and Senlis, and in towns in the sphere of the Etablissements of Rouen, such as La Rochelle and Saint-Jean-d'Angély, the elected municipal officials enjoyed important judicial powers.[49] In Bourges, however, all the evidence indicates that these rights of justice were vested in the inhabitants of the town and Septaine as a whole, not in the prud'hommes they elected to see to their common affairs.

There are some shreds of evidence that prud'hommes responsible for town affairs may have existed prior to the mid-fourteenth century. When Philip Augustus departed on crusade in 1190, he left a testament for the government of his kingdom, the first article of which directed his baillis that "per singulos Praepositos in potestatibus nostris, ponant quatuor homines prudentes, legitimos & boni testimonii, sine quorum, vel duorum ex eis ad minus, consilio negotia villae non tractentur; ... "[50] If this council of prud'hommes was ever established in Bourges, it must have been short-lived, for no trace of it remains. In any case, they were to have been appointed by, and hence implicitly responsible to, the bailli, not elected by the townspeople.

Philip Augustus did direct the inhabitants to select a committee of responsible individuals in 1210 to superintend the raising of revenues for the improvement of the town streets. It is clear however that this was strictly an ad hoc arrangement; each year the clergy was to select two laymen, and the laity two clerics, "qui erunt hujus operis Procuratores," and the king forbade that this should be converted into a custom.[51] This ordonnance, then, far from indicating a vigorous municipal organisation as Raynal would have it, shows that special and temporary arrangements had to be made to oversee such a routine matter as urban public works.[52]

That the inhabitants did not feel the need for regular municipal officials is hardly surprising in view of the fact that the royal bailli and especially the prévôt performed so many of the functions of town administration. As with many other domanial towns, the drawbacks to this lack of formal civic organisation rapidly became apparent with the advent of the Hundred Years War. With the arena of combat shifting into Berry, the need to organise civil defence, ready the fortifications, and pay war indemnities and extraordinary taxes became paramount. These tasks could not be entirely consigned to the over-burdened local royal officers, some of whom were incompetent or irresponsible, if the prévôt Jean Brunet was in any way typical. It was war then, Monjardet cogently argues, that provided the stimulus to the formation of a municipal corps in Bourges.[53] Quite possibly these representatives initially did not differ materially from the temporary agents of the past, but the duration of hostilities caused them to become permanent. Certainly they must have achieved some sort of recognized status by 1360, four years after the siege of Bourges, since in a letter of remission John II refers to the "quatuor electos ad regimen dicte ville,"[54] the earliest such reference extant.

Unfortunately there is no record of this recognition being formally accorded, unlike Tours which received a charter from John II in 1356 authorising the election of six citizens to superintend the fortifications, a committee which evolved into a town council by 1385.[55] One cannot rule out the possibility that at some point in the fourteenth century Bourges received a similar royal charter. However, this is not likely, for even if it has been lost, it would be surprising that, as was the medieval practice, copies of such an important document were not made, or that confirmation was not sought from successive monarchs. Certainly there is no mention whatsoever of such a charter in any surviving medieval documents or collections of customs. One can only assume therefore that the institution of municipal councillors was born of necessity and entrenched by custom.

Despite the universal usage of the term *prud'homme* by nineteenth century historians writing about Bourges, the expression does not appear in any documents up to 1474 when this system was abolished. Rather the phrase "élus (or 'commis') au gouvernement et affaires communes de la ville," or minor variations thereof, is most commonly found in the sources. Both because this was the contemporary term, and because it avoids identification with the mythical *prud'hommes* of the early and high Middle Ages, hereafter the term *élu* will be employed to designate the elected twon councillors.

At the turn of the fourteenth century the *élus* still do not seem to have become a solidly established institution, for in 1402 fully six citizens were elected, whereas the following year only four were named.[56] Thereafter four *élus* became the norm, to the extent that in some documents they are referred to merely as "les quatres."[57] Each represented one of the four *quartiers* into which the town was divided by the principal streets, the Rue Moyenne and the Rue St. Ambroix running north and south, and the Rue St. Médard and the Rue Mirebeau on an east-west axis. These *quartiers*--Bourbonneau, Auron, St. Sulpice, and St. Privé (also known as the Pont de Yèvre or St. Bonnet)[58]--subdivided in yet another manner this town already sectioned off in parishes and bourgs.

Each year on a day in the last two weeks in June the inhabitants of these *quartiers* assembled to elect four of their fellows to serve as *élus* for the coming year. The *procès-verbal* of the assembly of 1429, recorded by the keeper of the seal of the *prévôté* of Bourges, is quite informative about the mode of election and the nature of the responsibilities assigned to the *élus*. The townspeople were summoned by public announcements at all the accustomed places to a chamber in the priory of Notre Dame de la Comtal. In the presence of the *bailli* of Berry and a royal notary, they proceeded to elect "tous d'une voix et accord," four "discretes personnes" "pour vaquer au Gouvernement et Affaires Communes de ladite Ville de Bourges." Their mandate was to last one year, counting from the feastday of St. John the Baptist (24 June), and was phrased in this manner:

> ... ausquels Elus et à chacun d'eux lesdits Bourgeois et Habitans ont donné et donnent pleine puissance autorité et mandement special de faire faire les Oeuvres, Fort[illegible]ion, Emparemens, et autres choses touchant le Fait commun [illegible] ladite Ville, et de faire Payer par le Receveur d'icelle Ville, qui à présent est et sera pendant ledit an, tout qui est ou sera dû pour le Fait Commun d'icelle Ville, et aussi de baillier, adcenser et affermer tous les Subsides qui ont et auront cours ledit an durant en icelle Ville, ainsi qu'accoutumé est en tel case, et de faire diminution aux personnes qui sont et seront excessivement imposées ex Tailles faites et à faire en leurs loyautés et consciences; et generalement de faire toutes autres choses

qui à ce sont ou seront necessaires et convenables de faire, ...

The townspeople promised "sous l'Hypotheque et Obligation des Biens communs de ladite Ville" to uphold the actions and orders of the élus, or three of them, during their term of office.[59]

Quite clearly in 1429 emphasis was still placed on the military duties of the élus, which tends to confirm Monjardet's thesis. They were to arrange for the repair and maintenance of the fortifications, and make an equitable distribution of the war subsidies among the inhabitants. They also seem to have a role in directing the civil militia in their guard duties, since in 1472 the townspeople petitioned Louis XI without success that "les esleuz ... baillent le cri a ceulx qui font le guet sur les portaulx et muralle ... ainsi qu'ilz ont accoustume faire de toute ancienneté."[60] It is likely that the active military functions of the élus tended to diminish in favour of the bailli or seneschal of Berry once the immediate war crisis had passed. We have seen, however, that the people of Bourges, and hence their élus, continued to be responsible for the state of the defenceworks in the town to the end of our period, and in 1471 it was the élus who undertook to provide soldiers and military supplies and to raise 280 livres tournois for the aid of Louis XI at Châteaulevant.[61]

Although the duty of policing Bourges was assigned to the royal prévôt, it appears that the élus were expected to bear a measure of responsibility for public order within the town. Thus after the riots of 1474 the lieutenant of the bailli ordered one of the élus, Guillaume de Sauzay, to provide the assistance of the "gens de ladite ville" in arresting the instigators.[62]

The élus also superintended the administration of the town's finances. In addition to overseeing the raising of revenue through taxation, their authorisation was necessary before any expenditures could be made from the municipal coffers.[63] Their fiscal duties included farming out contracts for tax collection to the "plus offrant et dernier encherisseur." The élus negotiated and approved the terms of each contract, requiring that each farmer have a guarantor to ensure payment of the sum agreed upon to the civic treasury.[64]

The élus also saw to the exploitation of the municipal properties. Thus on the 8 July 1460 Jehan de la Berthonnière, acting in his capacity as élu for the quartier of St. Sulpice, signed a rental contract with the barber Guillaume Beaupierre for a boulevard next to the porters' lodge at the gate of St. Sulpice, "aceptant pour ladicte ville et pour ceulx qui au temps advenir en auront le gouvernement pour cinq solz touronois de cense annuelle et perpetuelle pension ... "[65]

In a less defined sense the élus were expected to see to the public welfare, or the "bien public." Thus in 1443 and again in 1445 they, in concert with other prominent citizens, carefully weighed the "bien utilite and prouffit" which would accrue to the cloth industry and hence to the town from the new regulatory statutes.[66] In 1428 Jacques Trousseau sued the Sainte Chapelle for damages to his mill caused by the reconstruction of the two Moulins des Chappes upstream which had been demolished by floodwaters. In their defence the canons argued that they had considered the effects which their alteration of the waterflow could have upon others, stating that before the work was undertaken they had shown the site to those concerned and "les quatres esleuz au gouvernement de la ville de Bourges" so that they might assess the impact upon "la chose publicque."[67]

It was natural that the office of élu should impart a certain prestige and influence to its incumbents; indeed, it is likely that this is all the remuneration which they received for their labours. Was this in fact an oligarchical form of government? It was inevitable that the council of élus should be dominated by the upper classes, particularly in the fifteenth century when the town enjoyed prosperity and national prominence. If nothing else, the advantages of literacy and leisure time to devote to public affairs limited candidates for office to the socially and economically prominent. Of course, this holds true of modern civic councillors, whose education and social status do not necessarily reflect those of their constituents.

Although the records listing the élus[68] elected in different years are generally reticent about their occupations, they seem for the most part to have been merchants or prominent master tradesmen or professionals, in particular those licensed in law. La Thaumassière frequently includes the heraldic insignia of the élus without stating his source, so it is impossible to ascertain whether these were family coats of arms or were assigned to the élus for their seals for transacting municipal business. Certainly a small number of them were of noble status, such as Jean Bonin, later created Sieur du Corpoe, Aimery Beuille, Baron de Contremoret and a royal élu in Berry, both elected in 1439, and Jacques le Roy, Sieur d'Yury and secretary to the king, elected in 1440 and again in 1461. It was not unheard of that royal officers brought their administrative experience to municipal office. The lawyer and member of the guild of master butchers Guillaume Bastard, an élu in 1440, is cited as the lieutenant general of the bailli of Berry in 1429[69] and 1432[70] Another lawyer David Chambellain, elected in 1442 and 1443, is also listed as having held the same post in the bailliage.[71] The names of Fradet, Bastard, Beuille, Bouet, and Sardé frequently appear throughout the fifteenth century, suggesting a family tradition of service in civic affairs. Some individuals served several terms as élu, such as Jean Vallée, elected for the quartier of St. Sulpice in 1429, 1440, and 1441, and Jean de Rupy dit Cambray, elected in 1443, 1444, and 1465.

There is no evidence to suggest that any of the four positions of élu were ever reserved for a particular class or occupation, as they were at Senlis[72] or at Tours, where the clergy, the merchants and the men at law were assured one élu each.[73] It is likely that in theory any resident of Bourges could present himself as a candidate for office, if in practice it was the citizen who already enjoyed some eminence in the public eye who was elected.

The most effective check upon a ruling clique of élus was the general assembly of the townspeople. The assembly did delegate its ordinary powers to the élus, instructing them to do all that was necessary or appropriate for the town's affairs "que lesdits Bourgeois et Habitans feroient faire en commun si present y étoient; ... " But it would seem that this was only a restricted mandate, because the proviso is appended, "jaçoit que les choses requissent Mandement plus special; ... "[74] A document written in the reign of Charles VIII describing the government of Bourges prior to 1474 states that the élus were authorised to "dispouser jusques à la somme de dix livres seulement ... et es affaires excedans la somme de dix livres ne pouvoient conclure ny riens dispouser sans faire assemblee generale et appellez a son de trompe et en general tous les habitans ..."[75] As the mere executives of a general assembly retaining all its essential powers, the *élus*' sphere of action was circumscribed by these restrictions imposed upon their expenditures.

It is rather curious that so much scholarly attention has focussed upon the *prud'hommes* while the general assembly, which is better documented and whose antiquity was attested to by contemporaries, has generally been neglected. From at least the time when Bourges entered the royal domain, the inhabitants of the town were accustomed to take common action on matters of public concern. Thus in 1141 Louis VII rectified certain problems caused by the domanial *ban* on wine after being petitioned by the "Clericis, Militibus atque Burgensibus Biturigae Civitatis, quos communiter ad nos Cives concordi consilio delegari."[76] In 1145 the clergy and townspeople again acted in concert to request other reforms in the domanial administration.[77] By 1308 general town meetings had become a long-established tradition; the keeper of the seal of the *prévôté* of Bourges certified that two delegates to the General Estates of Tours had been chosen by

> universitate, communitate seu toto communi, civibus et habitantibus civitatis et ville Bituricensis vocatis per bannum, prout moris est, et propter hoc congregatis in claustro prioratus Beato Marie de Comitali Bituricensi, in quo loco consueverant congregari pro tractando de negociis dicte ville afferentibus, . . .[78]

It was only this general assembly in the priory of Notre Dame de la Comtal which gave any legal definition to the community of inhabitants, or so they attempted to argue before the Parlement of Paris in 1345.[79]

In light of this identification of the assembly with the customary community, it is surprising that historians have not addressed themselves to the problem of its composition. It must be admitted that in this the extant documents lend virtually no assistance, and so one must resort to conjecture regarding this important question.

One thing is certain: the assemblies took place only with the prior permission of the bailli or his lieutenant, and high-ranking royal officers were in conspicuous attendance, as the royal notary who kept record of the proceedings was always careful to point out. Their presence could not help but influence the deliberations of the gathering, thus ensuring that the king's interests were served.

Caution must be exercised about extolling the "democratic" nature of these assemblies. In Bourges there is no evidence that any lay resident of the town was excluded by reason of his social or economic standing in the community, unlike some bonnes villes such as Tours where only "les plus suffisants" of the townspeople were admitted.[80] Nevertheless a social hierarchy existed as surely in Bourges as it did in these other towns, which may well have been equally effective in determining popular participation in civic meetings. Some prominent citizens may have received personal summonses, but if so, their presence was never specially recorded. nor is there any suggestion that their absence was punishable by fines.

Of course, in Tours as in other bonnes villes there were occasional assemblies to which all the inhabitants were summoned, usually once a year, for the purpose of electing the élus or reaching decisions regarding the defences or taxation. The results were however determined in advance by the ruling clique, and the meeting merely ratified them.[81] At Bourges, on the other hand, there is little evidence of a decision-making committee of the élite; La Thaumassière does state that the elected prud'hommes were assisted by thirty-two councillors, but there is little evidence to support this contention. In 1429 there was a conference between the lieutenant general of the bailli, the élus, and "plusieurs des plus notables Bourgeois et Gens de Conseil de ladite ville" to discuss the raising of funds to aid the besiegers of Orléans,[82] but one cannot deduce from this that this was a formally constituted group. There was the emergency meeting of royal and municipal officials and eminent bourgeois held on the 26 April 1474 to cope with the revolt. This cannot be taken as solid proof, however, since the circumstances were unusual; the lower classes were rioting and so one could hardly expect them to be included in the discussions.

Certainly the public meetings seem to have been popular events, since a high attendance is often recorded.[83] It is probable that the general assemblies to discuss civic affairs were open to any townsman who cared to attend although undoubtedly, as with any public meeting, the deliberations were dominated by the officials and more powerful bourgeois in attendance.

It is more difficult to discover whether the lay residents of the ecclesiastical bourgs were permitted to attend. In 1303 the town crier summoned to Notre Dame de la Comtal the "universita[s] burgensium et civium urbis et suburbii Bituricensum, sicut convocari consuetum esse asserebant ab antiquo, . . ."[84] While it is explicitly stated that the inhabitants of the suburbs formed part of the communitas of the town according to custom, this particular assembly was not an ordinary one to discuss municipal concerns; rather it was ordered by Philip IV to elicit popular support for his campaign against Pope Boniface VIII, an aim which would transcend local jurisdictional boundaries. It is true that the general assembly elected an élu for the quartier of St. Sulpice, but its boundaries may have included only the territory to the west and north of the Rue Moyenne and the Rue St. Médard lying within the royal town, excluding the bourg controlled by the monastery of St. Sulpice. Certainly the Benedictine monks created great difficulties for officers overseeing the cloth industry, who were elected by the general public, when they wished to enter the bourg.[85] Since the town meetings were conducted under the aegis of the royal authorities, it may well be that the religious foundations, so sensitive to any incursions upon their autonomy, would take exception to any inhabitants of their bourg attending. The ancient custom of holding these assemblies could have prevailed over this resistance, however, just as the ecclesiastics had to admit the _justice des bourgeois_ in their bourgs. We reach an impasse, for we cannot determine with any certainty whether the suburban residents up to 1474 were subject to any direct municipal exactions or civil defence duties, although undoubtedly they were subject to extraordinary subsidies levied by the Crown. The answers to this as to so many other puzzles probably could have been discovered in the ravaged municipal archives.

This gives rise to another question, whether the clergy could participate in these public assemblies. We have seen that in the mid-twelfth century the clergy of Bourges joined forces with the laity of the town in making requests to the _curia regis_. The clergy also vindicated their right to participate in the _justice des bourgeois_, although their presence was not deemed essential to the competence of the court. On the other hand, the standard phrases used to describe the attendance of the assemblies are "burgenses et cives" or "bourgeois et habitants," with no reference to the presence of clerks. We know that the clergy was not present at the public meeting of 1303, since other meetings were subsequently held in the major churches and monasteries of Bourges.[86] Since the issue at hand concerned the fate of the church, however, it is possible that Philip the Fair wished to have on record the support of each of the ecclesiastical foundations in the town. Another indication that the clergy did not normally form part of the community of inhabitants is found in the law suits which the townspeople brought against different monasteries, such as that against St. Sulpice in 1423,[87] and against St. Ambroix in 1354; the latter issue was resolved when the inhabitants assembled in Notre Dame de la Comtal and agreed to a compromise with the procureur of the monks.[88] The municipal authorities in Bourges seem to have had some limited power to impose taxation upon the clerical population, if a confirmation of the municipal wine tax in 1500 by Louis XII is a safe indication.[89] Nevertheless it appears safe to conclude that, while the clergy may have regularly joined in public assemblies in the twelfth century, their attendance tended to lapse as the royal domanial administration grew stronger and the lay citizens became more conscious of their common interests as a community.

The surviving records describing the activities of different general assemblies are frustratingly sparse, but do suggest that the phrase "affaires communes" embraced quite a variety of matters. The agendae were probably set by the current élus in consultation with the royal officers of the bailliage.

The assembly would have had little or no political initiative since the bailli or his deputy exercised their discretion in allowing or forbidding the public summons to be issued.[90] This does not mean that these town meetings were not used for political purposes; we have seen that they provided a convenient forum for the king's men to communicate their master's wishes to the people, and they also were asked on occasion to choose delegates to represent the town at assemblies of the bonnes villes or the Estates summoned by the king.

But the general assemblies were primarily concerned with those areas of town administration which were not entirely controlled by the prévôt or the ducal seneschal. Because there was a high degree of co-operation between the officers of the municipality and the royal domain, it is sometimes difficult to determine the spheres of responsibility. The town, for example, paid for the paving and cleaning of the streets[91] but other matters of sanitation such as the public bathhouses,[92] or keeping the Gallo-Roman amphitheatre free of refuse,[93] came within the purview of the domain. The municipality undertook belated measures to provide firefighting equipment after the great fire of 1487,[94] but the prévôt as chief of police was responsible for public safety. While the domain regulated most agricultural matters, Philip Augustus decreed that the working hours of labourers in the fields and vineyards should be set by the "Probis hominibus" of the town.[95]

Most of the guilds operated according to royal statutes under the watchful eye of domanial officers, but the municipality bore a measure of responsibility for the enforcement of the regulations for the cloth industry. From the fourteenth century on the inspectors were appointed by the townspeople, not merely by the masters and artisans of the métier.[96] In the formal assembly held in Notre Dame de la Comtal on the 31 March 1443 to ratify the new statutes, the keeper of the seal of the prévôté of Bourges certified that

> ... Iceulx bourgois et habitans ont donne ... a Jehan Gaucher procureur de ladicte ville et iceulx bourgois et habitans en commun pouvoir puissance et auctorite de contraindre et faire

> contraindre pour et en leurs noms par toutes voyes deues et raisonnables les delinquans et contredisans a tenir et accomplir lesdiz statuz et ordonnances et qui feront le contraire ...

The townspeople swore this oath to enforce the standards "soubz lobligation des biens communs de ladicte ville."[97]

A major function of the general assembly was to sanction taxation to meet municipal expenses. In the case of royally imposed exactions this approval would have been a foregone conclusion, as Louis XI assumed when he ordered the townspeople in 1470 to "assembler ensemble et mectre asseoir et imposer sur eulx par egal portion le fort portant le faible la somme de quinze cens livres tournois pour une foiz ..." Those taxed were to pay their assessment immediately upon pain of the confiscation and auctioning off of all their possessions.[98] The only prerogative left to the assembly was to determine the apportionment and method of collection. Tax measures sponsored by the municipal government itself may have been the subject of freer debate in the assembly, although here too the king's approval was required.

The public educational and charitable institutions in Bourges operated under the auspices of the community of inhabitants. Primary education remained in the hands of the clergy throughout our period, with the college of St. Ursin operating a school as early as 1094 while the cathedral chapter records indicate that a schoolmaster was employed there from 1124 on.[99] The instruction offered would have been very rudimentary; at the end of the fifteenth century when Joan the Duchess of Berry founded the Collège Ste. Marie in Bourges, she stated that this was "le premier Collège de fondation pour Etudes et Sciences qui jamais fut fondé en icelle [ville] ... "[100]

The foundation of a university at Bourges was a project of deep interest to the town fathers, who hoped it would stimulate the local economy and revive the town's fading prestige on the national scene. In response to the requests of Charles Duke of Berry and Louis XI, Pope Paul II issued a bull on the 12 December 1464 authorising a generale studium at Bourges, with faculties of theology, canon and civil law, medicine, and arts.[101] But by September 1466 no further action had been taken toward establishing the university, so the "gens d'esglise, bourgois, manans et habitans" of Bourges pressed the king to remove the bureaucratic obstructions.[102] Finally on the 9 March 1467 the university was formally installed in a special mass held in the cathedral, attended by scholars, officials of the church and the domain, the "quatuor scabinis ville tunc regimen exercentibus," and a host of distinguished bourgeois from the town. After parading through the streets in their pomp, the dignitaries enjoyed a sumptuous banquet at the town's expense.[103]

But all the impediments had not been removed, for in December 1469 the clergy and townspeople of Bourges complained to the king that the Parlement of Paris was creating difficulties in registering the royal letters founding their university.[104] These delays were caused by an intensive lobbying campaign mounted in 1464 by Charles Duke of Orléans, the city of Paris, and the universities of Paris, Orléans, and Angers to prevent the foundation of a rival institution.[105] In January 1470 (n. st.) the Parlement of Paris heard the depositions of the "habitans et borgois de la ville de Bourges, demandeurs" and the opposing parties. The latter argued that the multiplication of universities would foster the spread of heresy and sedition, and that the pays of Berry was too poor to support such an institution. But it was clear that their main concern was that a university at Bourges would draw away students coming from Berry, a

Bourbonneau and the Auvergne, thereby diminishing the "proufits" of the other university towns.[106] The rebuttals by Thibault Artaut, speaking for the university and town of Bourges, must have been successful, for on the 22 February 1470 Louis XI brusquely ordered the Parlement finally to register his letters founding the university, notwithstanding the opposition it had aroused.[107] After its controversial beginnings, the university's reputation for scholarship for the rest of the fifteenth century was undistinguished at best, but it was to become celebrated in the sixteenth century, particularly for its faculty of law.[108]

The victorious townspeople were given the responsibility of administering the university's finances. In March 1466 they engaged Jehan Pinot, doctor of law, to undertake "lintroduction et lentretenement de luniversite de Bourges," prominising him a salary of sixty livres tournois per annum.[109] The general assembly convened on the 4 March 1467 decided to pay Jehan Beguin, doctor of theology, and Pierre de Janilhot, doctor of law and Regent of the university, one hundred livres tournois and sixty livres tournois respectively for their services as professors for the preceding year.[110] The four élus thereupon instructed Jehan Bouet, the town treasurer, to pay these sums out of the aides granted by Louis XI for the maintenance of the university.[111] In addition to their salaries, the professors were exempted from all municipal exactions.[112] The fact that the élus required the authorisation of the general assembly before they could order payment of salaries contracted a year before reinforces the thesis that they were merely the executives in a system where power emanated from the assembly.

The university's operating expenses were met not only by the deniers communs of the town and royal grants, but also by a special tax levied on the local clergy. In 1466 two canons of St. Etienne and the promoteurs of the Archbishop of Bourges were charged with collecting these contributions. Two years later the townspeople complained to Louis XI that the three clerks had duly deposited one hundred fifty écus in the town coffers, but in fact had collected a far greater sum which they had "converties en autres usaiges, tant à leur proffit que autrement, et fait et disposé à leur plaisir et voulenté, ... " The bailli of Berry was ordered to recover the embezzled funds forthwith and turn them over to the municipal treasurer, while the culprits were to be subjected to the due processes of the law.[113] Thus, although the funds to support the university came from diverse sources, the community of inhabitants was entrusted with their administration.

The general assembly was also directly involved in the administration of the two public medical institutions in Bourges. The Hôtel-Dieu, which ministered to the sick and served as a hostel for poor migrants, was situated in the bourg St. Ursin at the foot of the cité walls in the shadow of the cathedral. The maladerie of St. Lazare (or St. Ladre), located on the outskirts of the bourg St. Privé, tended exclusively to those citizens of Bourges who were afflicted with leprosy. St. Etienne[114] and St. Laurent[115] appear to have operated their own hospitals, but the most active was the municipal Hôtel-Dieu.

Popular tradition was adamant that the townspeople themselves were responsible for the foundation of both institutions, although this point was challenged in court on several occasions. In 1490 the king's councillors in a judgement asserted that the maladerie of St. Lazare

> ... aeste construist et ediffier par les bourgoys manans et habitans de ladite ville de Bourges fondee et dotee des biens de ladite ville

> des habitans dicelle et en signe de ce nul lepeur ne peult et ne doit estre receu en icelle maladerie si nest natif de ladite ville de Bourges.[116]

The municipal government made similar claims about the Hôtel-Dieu which "nest poinct de fondation royalle ainsi a este batty et fondé par les dons faicts des habitans de la ville qui ont faict leur charité ... pour hospitaliser et nourir les pauvres malades."[117]

The townspeople were conscious of their obligation to provide continuing means of support for their charitable foundations, endowing them with houses, woods, vineyards, and other exploitable properties. The 1445 statutes for the cloth industry specified that one half of the defective fabrics confiscated should be given to the Hôtel-Dieu.[118]

Notwithstanding the fact that the hospitals were not of royal foundation, the lords of Bourges proved generous in their donations. For example, in 1177 Louis VII gave both institutions half the *dîme* of bread and wine consumed by the royal family at Bourges or at La Forêt nearby;[119] in 1322 the Hôtel-Dieu profited by 9 l. 15 s. 3 d. *parisis* from this gift.[120] The leper hospital enjoyed a rent of three *muids* of wine from the royal vineyard of Clos-le-Roy,[121] and Charles IV granted it the lucrative rights to the *péage* of the fairs of St. Lazare.[122] The Hôtel-Dieu received alms of one hundred *sous parisis* per annum from the domanial revenues, a donation which they had some difficulty in having transferred in 1387 to the accounts of the Duke of Berry.[123]

The townspeople insisted that, having founded and endowed the two public hospitals, they had the prerogative of nominating their directors. A writ of Louis XI on the 16 September 1474 explains that

> [les] deux hostelz estoient et sont ala presentation de noz bien amez les habitans de ladite ville et ala collation de nostre aime et feal conseil larcevesque de Bourges et toutes et quanteffoiz que

> lesdits hostelz estoient vacant et desponuntez de administrations lesdits habitans dicelle ville Bourges eslisoient deux hommes pour le gouvernement diceulx hostelz quilz presentoient et devoient presentez a notre conseilleur larcevesque dudit Bourges ausquels ledit arcevesque faisoient collation desdits administrations et les mestoit en possession dedits hostelz dieu et maladerie et administration diceulx ... [124]

The election of the masters took place in the full assembly of the townspeople, who then submitted their choice to the lieutenant general of the bailli. The nominee had to swear an oath to administer conscientiously the institution's properties.[125] The master of the Hôtel-Dieu was obliged to live on the premises; this proved to be the undoing of Gaston Quoquery who had to resign his post in 1484 because "il ne pouvoit induire sa femme à aller demourer avecques luy oudit hostel Dieu ... "[126] His wife's reluctance was understandable since the hospital admitted patients stricken with the plague throughout the latter half of the fifteenth and well into the sixteenth centuries.[127]

The right of nomination of the masters gave rise to several disputes. In 1439[128] and 1491-93 the Archbishop of Bourges attempted to fill the post at the leper colony with his own candidates; in the latter case at least the town assembly's candidate was confirmed by both the royal councillors and Pope Innocent VIII.[129] In 1474 the Grand Aumônier of France gave letters patent to one Jehan Beaufils, appointing him master of both the Hôtel-Dieu and St. Lazare. The bailli of Berry executed the letters and had his sergeants forcibly evict the two incumbents who had been duly chosen by the townspeople. Louis XI ordered that the results of this election be honoured, denying the right of patronage claimed by the Grand Aumônier.[130]

The responsibilities of the municipality for the hospitals extended well beyond the appointment of their directors. Once the archbishop had given his approbation, the élus compiled an inventory of the hospitals' possessions; this was examined by the townspeople before the new masters could assume office. The citizens of Bourges could inspect either of the institutions whenever they wished; if they found their administration wanting they had the right to suspend the directors and appoint replacements.[131]

The public took these responsibilities seriously. In 1490, for example, the town magistrates and several prominent citizens called upon Jehan Cotat who had been appointed master of the maladerie St. Lazare. It had come to their attention that Cotat had not set foot in the hospital for at least six months, and they demanded to know whether he had any intention of fulfilling his duties. When Cotat refused to return to the leper colony, he was summarily dismissed from his post.[132]

In 1491 the municipality and the bailli conducted an investigation into the administration of the Hôtel-Dieu by Jacquet Pascheau, master since 1486. The list of his derelictions of duty gives an interesting insight into the responsibilities of the position. Whereas former masters had kept the patients well supplied with beds and linen, and had stocked the storehouse with wine, grain, and hams, Pascheau had sold the beds and other possessions in order to finance his "grandes despanses et excessyves et ... grans banquetz et festements ... " and allowed the buildings and farm to fall into disrepair. The Hôtel-Dieu used to provide care for twenty to thirty patients at a time, at a cost of ten to twelve sous a day; now the destitute preferred to remain in the streets rather than go to the poorhouse where they were beaten and seldom fed, and the sick were only tended by two cripples. Pascheau was able to line his own pockets by these economies.[133]

The inquiries into these abuses suggest that normally the quality of care was quite high, at least by medieval standards. The lepers were committed to the maladerie of St. Lazare by the singing of a mass for the dead in the cathedral, but they were not entirely ostracized from society. They were allowed to go into the town to buy provisions or to beg, provided they were suitably garbed with gloves on their hands and carried a rod to warn passersby of their condition.[134] The population complained to Charles VI that the lepers wandered too freely through the streets of the town, so an edict curtailed their movements.[135] In general, however, a charitable attitude was evinced toward the lepers. A document of 1428 details the quite generous food and monetary allowances which the master was to give each patient every week and on the major feastdays. He was also obliged to supply his charges with firewood, bedlinen, garments and footwear.[136] Such expenditures would have been made from the revenues of the hospital endowments.

The manipulation of financial resources to meet the manifold civic obligations was a perennial problem for medieval towns. Of all the losses sustained by the municipal archives as a result of the fires of 1466, 1487, and 1871, perhaps the most grave for the historian was the almost total destruction of the town's financial records. The two years which have survived (1467 and the accounts of the repression of the revolt in 1474) give some idea of the significance of our loss, for in them is invaluable information about the resources of the town and about the activities of the élus and civic employees--in short, an evaluation of the real power exercised by the municipal government. Without them, we must be content with extrapolation and conjecture.

First we should consider the types of expenditures disbursed from the town coffers. A major item would have been the salaries of the municipal servants. Perhaps the most important of these officials was the *receveur des deniers communs de la ville*, the town treasurer. His duties are described in the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly of 1429:

> ... et ont voulu et consenti lesdits Bourgeois et Habitans que le Receveur des Deniers Communs de ladite Ville, qui à present est ou durant le temps dessus dit [un an], paye, baille et delivre des Deniers de sa Recette tout ce que lesdits quatre Elus ou trois d'iceux luy manderont par leurs Lettres scellées de leurs Seaux ou signées de leurs Seings Manuels, et des trois d'iceux; et par rapportant lesdites Lettres scellées ou signées ... tout ce que ledit Receveur aura payé ou livré par vertu d'icelles luy sera alloué en ses Comptes, et rabattu de sa Recette par celuy ou ceux qu'il appartient, en rapportant Quittance de ce que payé aura été par vertu desdites lettres: ... [137]

In addition to keeping the town's accounts, the *receveur* was also responsible for collecting the royal *aides* levied in the town. Thus in 1371 Pierre Pelain delivered one hundred *francs tournois* to the *Chambre des Comptes* of the Duke of Berry as part of the annual *aide* accorded him by the king.[138] In January and February of 1475 the *receveur* supervised the collection of 471 l. 5 s. *tournois* by farmers in the four *quartiers* for the so-called *taille des angloix*, the indemnity paid to Edward IV of England to induce him to withdraw his forces from France.[139] In 1474 Pierre de la Loe, acting *receveur* after the revolt, and his four sergeants received wages of 48 l. 8 d. *tournois* for their services.[140]

Another civic official frequently mentioned is the *procureur*, who represented the community of inhabitants in legal matters. The first we know of such an officer is in 1335, when he negotiated an agreement with his counterpart representing the chapter of St. Etienne concerning the allocation of the *aide* levied for the knighting of John of France.[141] In 1346 the *procureur* Gilet de Calays, having consulted with several townsmen, admitted to the *prévôt* of Bourges that André de Chancelle possessed the fief of *juglerie* which gave him the right to demand from each newly married man in the town or Septaine either four *deniers parisis* or his wedding garments, plus a full plate of meat.[142] The *procureur* was present when municipal contracts were farmed out, perhaps to ensure that the correct legal forms were followed.[143] It is probable that initially a *procureur* was appointed *ad hoc* as the occasion arose, but by the mid-fifteenth century the post seems to have become a permanent one.

A number of subordinate employees saw to the more mundane tasks of civic administration. The town crier was charged with announcing summons to public meetings, sentences rendered by the courts, and other items of public interest at all the crossroads and other customary places. In the busy marketplace of the Place Gordaine there still is a rock known as the Pierre de la Crie which was used for this purpose.[144] In 1474 the town crier Jehan Blondeau, who also served as a royal sergeant, earned annual wages of one hundred *sous tournois*.[145] The town watchman was paid forty *livres tournois* per annum, an indication perhaps of his more onerous duties.[146] The accounts mention a courier who was employed by the town administrators "pour allez et venir parmy ladite ville pour les affaires dicelle et de ladite chambre [des comptes]," at monthly wages of thirty *sous tournois*.[147] The town also employed as many as five messengers[148] and sergeants who seem to have worn a distinctive town livery purchased at public expense.[149]

The municipality also incurred certain administrative costs, such as paper and other secretarial supplies,[150] and the travel expenses of the *élus* and municipal servants.[151] The *élus* paid the prior of Notre Dame de la Comtal one hundred *sous tournois* for the annual rent of the upper chamber, used for general assemblies and probably also as the centre of administration in lieu of a hôtel de ville.[152]

Litigation initiated by the municipal authorities could also be very costly. In 1316 Louis X granted to his chamberlain Hughes Daugeron the rights of justice in the Septaine of Bourges, which the townspeople interpreted as a patent breach of their privileges. The prolonged court action which ensued was so expensive that the citizens complained to the king in 1318 that "pour lequel plaic soutenir il convient que len face tous les ans taille une ou plusieurs: ... "[153] While such extraordinary measures probably were no longer necessary as the municipal financial resources became more firmly founded, court costs could still put a strain on the assiette commune. Thus in 1455 the townspeople petitioned Charles VII to give them sixty livres parisis "en quoy ilz ont esté condempnez par la court de Parlement, pour l'amende d'ung fol appel par eulx fait ... "; the king graciously accorded them half the fine.[154] Conducting law suits in the distant courts of Paris escalated the cost. In 1474 the receveur paid two écus neufs to the notary of the church of St. Privé to deliver to the curia regis two depositions concerning the pretensions of Beaufils to the administration of the Hôtel-Dieu and the leper colony; the documents had been prepared by the town procureur at a cost of thirty sous tournois for his services and the twelve sheets of paper he used.[155]

The civic government also could face considerable expense in attempting to collect its debts. In 1471 François Bourdedieux was ordered by the tribunal of the lieutenant of the bailli to pay the town eight livres tournois still owing for his purchase of the farm of the péage at one of the town gates the preceding year. The municipal procureur claimed that Bourdedieux actually owed 17 l. 2 s. 6 d. tournois, but on the 12 June 1471 agreed to settle for the lesser sum upon the debtor's promise to pay. On the 2 September 1471 the inhabitants complained to the lieutenant that the royal sergeants had failed to execute the writ. Still receiving no action, the town treasurer Jean Bouer appealed to the king who ordered Bourdedieux to pay the debt since he had not filed an appeal (23 October 1471). This still was not sufficient for the sentence to be executed, as four further letters testify. The seizure of some of Bourdedieux's possessions still did not induce him to pay. Finally, on the 22 April 1474 Bouer again appealed to Louis XI, who ordered the _prévôt_ of Bourges to use the full force of the law to punish Bourdedieux for his contumacy.[156] By this time the expense of obtaining so many writs may well have exceeded the amount of the debt.

As we have seen, the cost of constant repairs to the town fortifications was so great that the municipal finances were in serious difficulties throughout the latter half of the fifteenth century. The town also had to assume fiscal responsibility for the men-at-arms stationed there. The fragment of the accounts from 1467 included four entries for the purchase of arrows and other equipment for the crossbowmen.[157] The town also supported a contingent of _francs-archiers_ who received 4 l. 10 s. _tournois_ each for six months' service while their captain was paid ten _livres tournois_. Since they numbered forty in 1475, their wages alone constituted a major drain on the town coffers, although perhaps more had been hired as a result of the recent disturbance in Bourges. At the same time the _receveur_ gave several _francs-archiers_ amounts totalling 3 l. 11 s. 3 d. _tournois_ for the repair of their weapons, and a further six _livres tournois_ to Guillaume Bagadmiez to purchase twelve more _brigandines_.[158]

The treasury also had to bear the expense of sundry public works projects, from paving the streets to fixing the bridge of St. Fulgent when it collapsed under too heavy a vehicle to improving the entrances to the Arènes, the ancient amphitheatre.[159] In 1455 the townspeople petitioned Charles VII

> qu'il plaise au Roy, en récompense des murs et pavé d'icelle ville, qu'ilz ont remparez, et reffaicte certaines chaussées qui sont au long de la rivière de Evrète, afin que l'eaue viengne au molin de Balsarin, armeurier du Roy, à grant habondance, pour faire les harnoys, et autres plusieurs affaires qui sont de plus grant coust que les deniers communs de la ville ne pevent porter, leur octroyer qu'ilz puissent mettre sur chacun tonneau de vin entrant en ladite ville en venant hors de pays de Berry xx sols tournois pour tonneau, ou autre charge qui sera par ledit seigneur ou ceulx de son Conseil advisée: ... [160]

Although the expenses had been incurred partly in order to accommodate the armourer who had been established at Bourges under Charles' sponsorship,[161] he did not see fit to accede to their request, but promised to reconsider if they could propose another means of light taxation.[162]

Such appeals for financial assistance were common in the fifteenth century, for the financial resources of Bourges were both inflexible and wholly inadequate to meet the heavy demands placed upon them. We do not know the extent of the biens communs, or properties owned and exploited by the municipality, but there is every indication that their revenues were not great. Louis XI recognized in 1473 that "icelle notredite ville nest de soi fondee en rentes ne deniers communs que bien peu ..."[163]

Other avenues of revenues commonly exploited by medieval towns were closed to the bonne ville of Bourges. It could not benefit from the profits of justice since its administration was controlled by the royal domain and the ecclesiastical foundations. The municipality did not even have a share in the fees and fines levied for contravention of the regulations in the métiers. It had only limited access to the taxes levied on foreign merchandise entering and sold in the town, since here too the king and the monastery of St. Sulpice had primary rights.

Nevertheless taxes were the mainstay of the municipal treasury. The first evidence we have of taxation specifically for urban purposes is an octroi of Philip Augustus in 1210. The clergy and laity of Bourges, in the presence of Archbishop Girard de Gros, held a public meeting to consider means of financing the paving of the street and other road improvements. It was agreed that taxes would be levied as follows: twelve deniers on each arpent of vines whose produce was sold in Bourges; two deniers on each arpent of cultivated land and meadow in the Septaine; one denier on each beast of burden entering the town, except if it was bearing grain or wine for the consumption of the inhabitants, or during harvest in the vineyards; one obole on each horse, ox or head of cattle brought to Bourges for sale, or one obole for every four sheep, goats, or swine; and finally an annual tax on every vehicle owned by a bourgeois, at a rate of three sous if it was drawn by one horse, and five sous if drawn by two or more. The clergy, religious houses, knights, and sometimes the ordinary inhabitants were exempted in some instances. Significantly, these taxes were to be valid for only three years, and were to be applied only to the roadworks.[164] This was the general pattern for subsequent royal grants of indirect taxation--their use was specified, their duration was limited, and they required the authorisation of the king.

The only tax which was quasi-permanent and which could be used for the general expenses of the municipal government was the so-called "treizième du vin." Each retail wine vendor in the cité, the faubourgs, and the Septaine was required to pay to the town the value of one pint of wine for every twelve pints sold. This tax was passed on to the consumer by reducing the volume of each pint by one thirteenth.[165] Such an imposition was quite common in medieval towns; in fourteenth century Dijon the wine measures were reduced by one twelfth,[166] while in Tours the tax was a full tenth.[167] The *treizième* was sometimes specifically designated by the king for the repair of the fortifications,[168] but it did have a measure of flexibility. Thus in 1429 the lieutenant general of the *bailli* approved the request of the *élus* and the town *procureur* that the value of the *treizième* be tripled in order to raise substantial funds for the succour of Orléans. In this case the tax revenues were used to repay several wealthy bourgeois who had loaned the money to the municipality.[169]

Like the royal domain, the civic authorities found that the most practical method of tax collection was to farm it out to the highest bidders, thereby eliminating the need for more employees on the municipal payrolls. In 1473 Jehan de Meneston paid 950 *livres parisis* for the farm of the *treizième* for twelve months.[170] On the 1 January 1473 the *élus* received bids for the annual farm of the *pavage*, apparently a *péage* or toll levied for the maintenance of the roadways.[171] The farm of the Porte d'Auron commanded a price of two hundred *livres tournois* while Jehan Godet paid eighty-one *livres tournois* for the Porte St. Privé and the Porte St. Ambroix. The farm of the Porte de Bourbon and the Porte Charlet was worth forty-three *livres tournois* and the Porte St. Fulgent forty-one *livres tournois*.[172]

Jehan de Meneston's contract for the *treizième* required that he pay equal monthly installments,[173] although in fact in July 1474 he made three separate payments totalling 83 l. 11 s. 10 d. *tournois* for the months of April and May.[174] The farmers of the pavage were supposed to pay their installments every two months, but the records show that they often fell into arrears and the amounts of payment varied greatly, suggesting that the income from their farms was irregular.[175]

Such financial arrangements often meant that the town treasury did not have enough cash on hand to meet its operating expenses. Thus in June 1471 the receveur acknowledged receipt of a loan of thirty livres tournois from the cobbler Jehan Bigot and Loviam Boylegue, a sergeant, "laquelle somme aeste mise et employee en despense es affaires de ladicte ville ... "[176] Unfortunately we do not know of any major debts contracted by the municipality, other than the loans arranged to cover the cost of repressing the 1474 revolt until the fine of three thousand livres had been collected.[177]

The slender financial resources of the municipality were in a sense a reflection of its limited sphere of normal activity. Whenever an extraordinary expenditure became necessary, the town had to petition the king for a grant of assistance. Usually these concessions took the form of a limited and temporary access to the royal revenues collected from the town; for example, to the tonlieu which in a commune or more autonomous municipality would have been collected for the civic coffers. One may surmise that the town's financial resources were deliberately kept severely limited so as to inhibit any possible expansion of municipal jurisdiction at the expense of the royal domain. In 1455 when the people of Bourges petitioned Charles VII to order his Chambre des Comptes to verify his earlier grant of two "foires franches," which would stimulate local trade, the king refused "par ce que ce seroit en grant diminucion des aides du Roy."[178] Certainly forcing the town humbly to petition the

Crown for any extraordinary expenditure was a most effective means of maintaining control over the activities and decisions of the municipality.

The manner in which the town fathers spent the *deniers communs* very probably came under close scrutiny by royal officials. In 1256 Louis IX published an ordonnance whereby all the mayors, elders and *prud'hommes* responsible for the financial administration of French towns were to come to Paris every year during the feast of St. Martin to present their accounts.[179] It is not clear whether such an ordonnance was applicable to a *bonne ville* such as Bourges which at this epoch did not have an organised *corps municipal*. An audit function seems to have been carried out by the officers of Charles Duke of Berry, for the 1464 municipal accounts were closed in the presence of the four *élus* plus David Chambellan, lieutenant of the seneschal, and Pierre Mahieu, secretary to the Duke.[180] Chevalier argues that in the case of Tours royal officers were present during the annual inspection of the town accounts not as imposed comptrollers but merely because they were prominent residents of the town.[181] It is inconceivable however that with the Crown so intent upon curbing any hint of independence in the domanial towns, some type of audit of their financial records was not regularly made. Certainly when the king granted a special imposition such as the salt tax in 1464 he often required that the municipal authorities deliver a faithful accounting of its collection and expenditure to his financial officers for scrutiny.[182]

The municipal government thus had to defer constantly to the authority of the king's representatives in the town. If tension developed as a result, the records are silent about it, in marked contrast to the recurrent clashes between the domanial officers and the ecclesiastical establishments. The only suggestion we have of difficulties occurred in 1361, when the officials of the Duke of Berry were apparently over-zealous in establishing their master's authority in the town. A dispute with the townspeople over the administration of justice aroused enough hostility to compel the king to reassert temporarily his own jurisdiction, sending special commissioners into Bourges to quell the disturbance. They were soon recalled, however, and the opposing parties were given permission to settle the matter without a fine before the Parlement of Paris.[183]

But if harmony normally governed the relations between the officials of the domanial and the municipal governments, it was attributable primarily to their common interests. A remarkable example of this co-operation occurred about 1358 with the miniature war which the townspeople of Bourges waged against a Berrichon noble. Louis de Sancerre had sent two squires to Bourges to do some errands. The two were set upon by some local citizens and were robbed of their horses, money, and other valuables. Their corpses were left exposed in the streets for two days. Both the bailli of Berry and the four élus refused to give any satisfaction to Louis, and the townspeople themselves boldly retorted that if they had any regrets, it was that more had not been killed. When a small delegation of nobles approached the town, ostensibly to make peace, an armed party of citizens attacked them before they could enter the gates, putting them to flight. Both camps engaged men-at-arms, a number of whom were killed or held for ransom in several skirmishes. Raiding parties from the town pillaged Louis' estates, burning down his manorhouses. Louis and his adherents refused to respond to repeated summonses by the bailli to appear before his justice to answer for their bellicose activities, nor, even more surprising, would they obey an order to justify themselves before the Parlement of Paris, claiming that they feared imprisonment. As punishment for their contumacy they received sentences of confiscation of their property and banishment. They were compelled to petition John II for letters of remission.[184] Clearly Louis de Sancerre felt that he would not receive justice from the royal courts, although the king's letters suggest that the wrong was heaviest on the side of the townspeople. It is more likely that Louis had somehow earned the enmity of both the people of Bourges and the local royal officers well before the incident which had sparked the hostilities. The letters of remission concluding this altogether peculiar case make no mention of any punishment meted out to the inhabitants of Bourges for their part in this local war.

With this tradition of peaceful co-operation between a powerful and omnipresent domanial administration and a subordinate municipal government of restricted powers, it is unlikely that the civil disturbances of 1474 emanated from those prominent citizens entrusted with the conduct of civic affairs. The king's officers did not lose control over the municipal government but rather over the commonfolk in the streets. This is however a perspective which was lost on Louis XI. The king was convinced that only a total revamping of the system of town administration could thwart other nascent conspiracies.

In a sense this held some truth, for the civic government was the product of a palimpsest of customs; its authority was ill-defined, and the royal commissioners had some difficulty in assigning responsibility for the breakdown of law and order. That the general assembly and their élus functioned under the political and fiscal tutelage of the royal domain there can be no question. But for the autocratic Louis his control over the towns of his realm had to be both absolute and obvious.[185]

What few elements there were of popular government in the medieval municipal system were eradicated, and an oligarchical échevinage was established. The new mayors and échevins were creatures of the king, holding office at his pleasure.[186] They could pretend to no authority beyond that enjoyed by their counterparts in Tours and La Rochelle; any other "Justice Jurisdiction et Judicature" exercised by the former élus was to be vested in the bailli and prévôt.[187] It is difficult to determine precisely what diminution of authority this entailed. Most likely this was some sort of safety clause since the powers of the medieval élus really defied definition; the very fact that Louis XI attributed judicial functions to the élus indicates his lack of understanding of this system. Certainly the justice des bourgeois escaped abolition, since it was incorporated into the collection of Berrichon customs ordered by Louis XI in 1481.[188]

In none of his edicts concerning government reform in Bourges does the king make reference to the powers of the general assembly. Clearly its essential role disappeared when its right to elect those governing the town was abolished. It was made abundantly clear that thereafter the mayor and échevins would be responsible not to the general community but to the king. It is not however correct to say that the assembly was replaced in all its capacities by a town council;[189] the fact that the general assembly continued to function as a deliberative and decision-making body, albeit considerably diminished in powers, is evidenced by the public meeting held in 1484 which appointed a new director for the Hôtel-Dieu.[190]

One positive result of the reforms enacted in 1474 was the establishment at last of a stable *assiette commune*. The king authorised the new *corps municipal* to impose taxation on all goods entering the town to a maximum of one thousand *livres* per annum.[191] This permanent taxation base greatly assisted the town in maintaining solvency, once the crippling fines imposed by Louis XI had been paid. The 1488-89 town budget showed receipts of 3474 *livres* and expenditures of only 2197 *livres*; in 1494-95 Bourges was in an even better situation, showing a surplus of 2514 *livres* but in 1498-99 a relatively small deficit of 549 *livres* was reported.[192]

Thus for Bourges as with many of the *bonnes villes* the impetus for the emergence of a municipal organisation came from the need to renovate the urban fortification in the face of the menace of war. Ironically, it was virtually the same conditions which prompted the inhabitants of Bourges to 'kick over the traces" as it were and disrupt the implicit compact between king and town, resulting in the abrogation of their ancient liberties and the imposition of an oligarchical *échevinage*. The parsimonious sources remaining to us point to the conclusion that the rudimentary self-government enjoyed by the citizens of Bourges was a natural outgrowth of their informally constituted community which was predicated upon custom. Because the municipal government appeared so late, it had to accommodate itself to a solidly entrenched domanial administration. The general assembly and its executives, the *élus*, functioned under the close surveillance of royal officers, which effectively curbed any ambitious tendancies to extend their authority beyond the narrow bounds permitted them. To all appearances however this ill-defined and restricted civic government functioned to the satisfaction of the citizens of medieval Bourges, if its few elements of local authority were not entirely compatible with the new epoch of royal absolutism envisioned by Louis XI.

Footnotes

[1] See, for example, Maurice Clément, *Etude sur les communautés d'habitants dans la province de Berry* (Chateauroux: A Majesté, 1891), 23-24. The evidence for the existence of a commune at Bourges is based almost entirely upon the 1174 charter of privileges granted to St. Etienne, which states that the men of the chapter and of the archbishop shall not be received into the commune without the consent of their lords ("nec unquam in communia[m] recipientur nisi de voluntate et assensu dominorum suorum") Arch. Cher Gl fol. 14. Luchaire suggests the *communia* here should be read in the more general sense of *communitas* (*Institutions monarchiques* 2: 175-176 n. 4). Renée Monjardet rejects this argument on the basis that the formula in *communiam recipiuntur* signifies a sworn association. She concurs with Luchaire's suggestion that the people of Bourges may have had a short-lived commune which disappeared without leaving a trace, but feels it more likely that either the royal notary inserted the stock phrase as a matter of course, or else that it was included as a precaution against a future formation of a commune, quite possible at this period, the apogee of the communal movement ("Recherches sur les institutions municipales de Bourges au moyen âge," *MASC* 47 [1936-1937]: 36). In any event, the documents indicating that Bourges never attained communal status far outweigh the scanty evidence to the contrary.

[2] Arch. Nat. X^{1A}10, fol. 265v°, quoted by Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 34 n. 1.

[3] *CL*, 313; see also *NC*, 9.

[4] "Cum de ipse servitute manumissi, de quibus ante manumissionem pro voluntate sua capere poterant et levare, nullam contra jus commune libertatem vel quittancium proponere valeant, nisi quantum a manumittente domino fuerit eis concessum." (*Olim* 1: 848; Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions*, 371 n. 1).

[5] *CL*, 62-63 (confirmation by Louis VII, 1145), 66.

[6] There is some divergence of opinion as to whether the *mainmorte* was the most characteristic sign of servitude (as per Raynal, *Etude historique*, 15) or could also be levied upon freemen (see Newman, *Domaine royal*, 25, 26 and n. 2). In any case it was an important step in freeing the inhabitants of Bourges from seigneurial exactions.

[7] Arch. Mun. AA 2 fol. 4v°-5r° (copy of 1652); *Ordonnances* 11: 321; *CL*, 67.

[8] Arch. Cher 8G 18, fol. 65v°; *HB* 2: 576-577, pièce justificative no. 55.

[9] *Olim* 2: 112 no. 6.

[10] Lot and Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises*, 162.

[11] *CL*, 63. According to custom bastards could also transmit their property to their heirs (ibid., 272).

[12] Ibid., 63.

[13] Ibid., 67 (confirmation by Louis VIII, 1224).

[14] Ibid., 68 (confirmation by Philip Augustus, 1181).

[15] Arch. Mun. AA 1 fols. 45-47 (copy of 1584); Arch. Mun. AA 2 fols. 9-11 (copy of 1652); also cited in "Arrest notable des commises des francs fiefz et nouveaux acquests au profit de la ville de Bourges," Arch. Mun. AA 2 fol. 25v° (1585) and fol. 26 (1615). Apparently the town fathers used this valued privilege to acquire properties for the municipality. A good number of towns acquired this privilege under Louis XI (see Gandilhon, *Politique économique*, 115-116).

[16] Louis des Méloizes, *Le Servage en Berry* (Bourges: Imprimerie Tardy-Pigelet, 1907), 30.

[17] *CL* 16, 313.

[18] Boutaric, *La France sous Philippe le Bel*, 154, 156; Brussel, *Usage des fiefs* 2: 903.

[19] César Chabrun, *Les Bourgeois du roi* (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1908), Appendix 1; see also 66-72.

[20] *CL*, 249-250. La Thaumassière indicates that some said the bourgeois were also required to be present in Bourges at Easter, "mais il y a trop d'oppinions contraires pour ce qu'ils se communicent à Pasques en leurs Eglises."

[21] *HB* 2: 585-586.

[22] Arch. Mun. AA 7 (A 769), fol. 12.

[23] *CL*, 63.

[24] Ibid., 68.

[25] Ibid., 67.

[26] Ibid., 68. See above, Chapter 1, 14.

[27] *CL*, 262, 272; see also 315.

[28] Raynal, *Etude historique*, 29 (emphasis in text).

[29] *Olim* 1: 544, no. 1.

[30] Ibid. 1: 510, no. 11.

[31] Arch. Cher 14G 237. For further details of this case, see Chapter 4, 262.

[32] Bib. Nat. fonds français 25207 fol. 61v°; see also CL, 315.

[33] Raynal suggests that this provision was introduced when the customs were revised by order of Louis XI in 1481 (Etude historique, 40). It is likely however that this was not an innovation, however, since it is cited as "la coustume ancienne."

[34] Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 24.

[35] HB 326, 327 and n. 1.

[36] Arch. Cher 14G 236.

[37] Ibid. (14 August 1464). Attached is a document of the same date indicating that the sentence had been carried out after being announced "par crye publique et a haulte voix" throughout the bourg.

[38] Arch. Cher 14G 234.

[39] Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 27.

[40] CL, 272.

[41] Actes du Parlement 1: 84 n. 919.

[42] See for example two cases of the 27 July 1419 and the 15 January 1420 (n. st.) in which appeals were made to the Parlement of Paris from judgements of the bourgeois of Bourges; when the parties agreed to settle out of court, they had to petition the dauphin, then acting as regent, for permission to do so, although "ladicte cause ne nous touche en riens si non pour raison de lamende sil estoit mal appelle ... " (Arch. Nat. X^{1C} 119, fols. 20, 26).

[43] Marguerite Boulet-Sautel, "L'Emancipation urbaine dans les villes du Centre de la France," Recueil de la société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions 6 (1955): 394-395. See also Luchaire, Institutions monarchiques 2: 156.

[44] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry, 137.

[45] See, for example, E. Turpin, "Acte d'assemblée des habitants de Bourges de 15 décembre 1484," MSHLASC 25 (1911): 194-195; Augustin Thierry, Tableau de l'ancienne France municipale (1875), 345-346, cited by Emile Chénon, Les Prud'hommes de Bourges au moyen âge (n.p., 1924), 2; Raynouard, Histoire du droit municipal en France (Paris, 1829) 2: 183, 293, cited by Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 1-2.

[46] HB 2: 171-177, 3: 118-120; Edmond Charlemagne, Les Anciennes Institutions municipales de Bourges (Bourges: Tardy-Pigelet, 1889), 57-61; Luchaire, Institutions françaises, 396-397, 403.

[47] Chénon, Prud'hommes de Bourges; Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions."

[48] Luchaire, Institutions françaises, 397 no. 1; Chénon (Prud'hommes de Bourges) also argues this point.

[49] Gravier, Prévôts royaux, 42-46. It is noteworthy that Gravier seems to be ignorant of the justice des bourgeois in Bourges in remarking that in the towns of the Centre such as Lorris, Orléans, and Bourges, the judicial powers of the prévôt were not limited by any jurisdiction of the inhabitants (ibid., 45-46). See also A. Giry, Les Etablissements de Rouen: Etude sur l'histoire des institutions municipales ... , 2 vols. (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1883) 1: 19-23.

[50] Brussel, L'Usage des fiefs 1: 424 and n. (c); 2: viii.

[51] Ordonnances 11: 295.

[52] HB 2: 177; Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 29.

[53] Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 37-44.

[54] Arch. Cher 2F 52 (ms. copy by Raynal).

[55] Chevalier, Tours, 80-87.

[56] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 309.

[57] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2912, fol. 29.

[58] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 313; Nicolas Catherinot, Les Fastes consulaires de Bourges (Bourges, 1684), 1-3; Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 44.

[59] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 313-314. See also Chenu, Recueil des Antiquitez, 125-126.

[60] Arch. Mun. AA 5 (A 767); Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 44 and n. 2.

[61] Arch. Mun. EE 7.

[62] Bib. Nat. fonds français 2912, fol. 9.

[63] See the municipal accounts of 1467 in Arch. Mun. CC 533.

[64] See Arch. Mun. CC 134 and CC 257.

[65] Arch. Cher 4H 200 no. 1.

[66] Arch. Mun. HH 25.

[67] Arch. Cher 8G 1951, article viii.

[68] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 313-319; Chenu, Recueil des Antiquitez, 130-131; Catherinot, Fastes consulaires, 1-3. Arch. Cher C 851 contains a list drawn up in 1757 by Baraton de Chouday, Treasurer of France, entitled "Prud'hommes en la ville de Bourges avant 1400, suivant M^r Catherinot antiquaire du Berry." However, Catherinot himself admitted that he was merely hazarding a guess in assuming that these men had been *élus* (ibid., 4).

[69] Letter farming out the wine tax (La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 314).

[70] Law suit before the Parlement of Paris (Arch. Cher J 595).

[71] It is doubtful that Chambellain held these offices contemporaneously, since in 1443 when he witnessed the cloth industry statutes he is described as "licentie en loiz" and one of the "comis et esleuz au gouvernement de la ville de Bourges"; if he had held a royal post at that time, it probably would have been mentioned (Arch. Mun. HH 25).

[72] J. Flammermont, Histoire des institutions municipales de Senlis (1881), 69, cited by Chevalier, Tours, 90 n. 44.

[73] Chevalier, Tours, 90.

[74] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 314.

[75] Arch. Mun. AA 5(A 767); Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 46-47.

[76] CL, 61.

[77] Ibid., 62.

[78] Arch. Nat. J 415A, no. 181; Picot, Etats généraux, 663.

[79] Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 34 n. 1.

[80] Chevalier, Tours, 88.

[81] Ibid., 88-89.

[82] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 314.

[83] For example, in 1303 (Picot, Etats généraux, 326), in 1443 (Arch. Cher 4H 187 no. 5), and in 1467 (Arch. Mun. CC 533).

[84] Picot, Etats généraux, 326.

[85] See Chapter 4, 267.

[86] Picot, *Etats généraux*, 326 ff.

[87] Arch. Cher 4H 187 no. 1.

[88] Arch. Cher 2F 52 (ms. copy of Raynal).

[89] Arch. Mun. CC 126 (10 January 1500).

[90] Lacour, *Gouvernement de l'apanage*, 355.

[91] See Arch. Mun. CC 134 and CC 257. A register of 1487 states that a municipal employee in each *quartier* was charged with collecting garbage (Arch. Mun. CC 258), but this system does not seem to have functioned very well, since in the following year only the area around the Porte Gordaine was cleaned (Arch. Mun. CC 287; see also Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, 173-176).

[92] See the ordonnance of the seneschal of the Duke of Berry (1412) (Arch, Mun. FF 22).

[93] Customs of the Duke of Berry (*CL*, 339).

[94] Arch. Mun. DD 27 no. 1210.

[95] *CL*, 64.

[96] Arch. Mun. HH 25.

[97] Arch. Cher 4H 187 no. 5.

[98] Arch. Mun. DD 23. See also Arch. Mun. CC 129 (A 975) for a similar assembly in 1473 acquiescing to a levy to meet the expenses of repairing the town fortifications.

[99] See Jean-Yves Ribault, "Les Ecolâtres de Bourges au XIIe siécle," *Actes du 95e Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Reims, 1970), Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610* 1: 89-99. The ecclesiastical schools of Bourges were the subject of papal bulls issued by Adrian IV between 1154 and 1159 (Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique monumentale*, 360 pièce justificative no. 5), Alexander III between 1159 and 1181, and Honorius III in 1217 (Arch. Cher 2F 50, ms. copy by Raynal).

[100] Testament of Joan of France, Duchess of Berry, 10 January 1504 (copy of 1554), Arch. Cher D 32, fol. 1.

[101] Marcel Fournier, ed. *Les Statuts et privilèges des universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789*, 3 vols. (Paris: L. Larose & Forcel, 1892) 3: 414-416, no. 1851. Louis XI issued his first letters establishing a university at Bourges in December 1463 (*Ordonnances* 16: 150).

[102] Ibid. 1: 416-417, no. 1852.

[103] Ibid. 1: 417-418, no. 1853.

[104] Ibid. 1: 419-420, no. 1854.

[105] See the letter patent of Charles of Orléans dated the 5 April 1464, ordering payment of the travel expenses of his advisor Guillaume de Villebresne who had been dispatched to the king at Nogent-les-Chartres "pour le fait de l'université d'Orléans et pour empêcher que université ne fut faite et créée de nouvel à Bourges." A. Dupré, "Documents inédits sur l'Orléanais," *Mémoires de la société archéologique de l'Orléanais* 11 (1868): 415-416.

[106] Fournier, *Statuts et privilèges*, 420-428, no. 1858.

[107] Ibid., 428-429, no. 1859; *Ordonnances* 17: 266.

[108] See Marcel Fournier, "L'Ancienne Université de Bourges: Première période (XVe siècle)," *MSHLASC*, 4th series, 9 (1893): 3-93; idem, *La Fondation et la première réforme de l'université de Bourges (1463-1530)* (n.p., 1900).

[109] Arch. Mun. CC 533 no. 4.

[110] Ibid., nos. 3, 4, 5.

[111] Ibid., nos. 1, 2. The salaries were paid in two installments.

[112] Arch. Mun. GG 126 (A 128).

[113] Fournier, *Statuts et privilèges*, 418-419, no. 1854; *HB* 3: 522-524. See also Arch. Mun. GG 125 (A 1217) for a letter of Guillaume Sardê, lieutenant general of the *bailli*, ordering that the embezzlers be forced to submit their accounts, on pain of confiscation of their temporal possessions.

[114] In 1184 Henry de Sully, Archbishop of Bourges, confirmed the commitment of Constance Janvier and his wife Ermengarde to devote their lives to the service of the poor in the Hôtel-Dieu of St. Guillaume, in the cloister of St. Etienne (A. Gandilon, *Catalogue des actes des archevêques de Bourges antérieurs à l'an 1200* (Bourges-Paris, 1927), 139 no. 326 and 181 no. 481; see also Branner, *Cathédrale de Bourges*, 26).

[115] In December 1349 Philip VI donated thirty *livres parisis* to "Abbatissa Sancti Laurencii Bituricensis, domus Dei ibidem ... " (*Journaux du trésor de Philippe VI*, 58; no. 3367).

[116] Arch. Mun. GG 541 fol 1r°.

[117] Municipal declaration of 1666 directed against the nuns who were established at the *Hôtel-Dieu* in 1629 (Arch. Mun. GG 537). See also Arch. Cher D 278 for similar claims made for both institutions in 1474.

[118] Arch. Mun. HH 25.

[119] Luchaire, *Actes de Louis VII*, 324 no. 718.

[120] Jules Viard, *Les Journaux du trésor de Charles IV le Bel* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1917), 322 no. 1836.

[121] This privilege, initially granted by Philip VI in 1318, was a condition in the rental of the vineyard to the archbishopric of Bourges in 1423 (Arch. Cher D 297). Philip VI also made monetary gifts to St. Lazare, twice of one hundred *sous parisis*, and once of thirty *livres parisis*, just before he died (Viard, *Trésor de Philippe VI*, 584 no. 3367, 589 no. 5124, 913 no. 5707.

[122] P. Guidault, *La Léproserie de Bourges* (Bourges: Tardy-Pigelet, 1892), 14.

[123] Arch. Nat. K 176, 1ère *liasse*, nos. 19, 20, 26.

[124] Arch. Cher D 278. This ms. is badly damaged by fire.

[125] Nomination of Jean Moireau as administrator of the *Hôtel-Dieu* by the assembly convened on the 15 December 1484 (Arch. Mun. GG 537).

[126] Ibid.; see also Turpin, "Acte d'assemblée," 201.

[127] For evidence of the plague striking Bourges in 1458, 1474-1475, 1484, 1498, and 1559-1565, see Arch. Mun. CC 262 and 269; Arch. Cher 14G 236 and 2F 50, fol. 146 (ms. copy by Raynal); Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, 184-191.

[128] Gueneau, *Sources parisiennes*, 273.

[129] Arch. Mun. GG 541.

[130] Arch. Cher D 278.

[131] Ibid.; Arch. Mun. GG 541, fol. 1r°.

[132] Arch. Mun. GG 541 (A 1632).

[133] Arch. Mun. GG 155.

[134] Edmond Jongleux, "L'Hygiène et la santé publique à Bourges du XIIIe au XXe siècle," *BMOVB* (1935): 283-284.

[135] Guidault, *Léproserie de Bourges*, 14.

[136] Arch. Cher D 278.

[137] La Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry* 1: 314.

[138] Arch. Nat. KK 251, fol. 52v°.

[139] Arch. Mun. CC 257, fols. 50r°-60v°.

[140] Arch. Mun. CC 257, fols. 47r°-48r°.

[141] Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 31.

[142] Francis Bar, "La juglerie de Bourges au XIVe siècle," Mélanges de linguistique romane et de philologie médiévale offerts à M. Maurice Delbouille (n.p., 1964), 41.

[143] For example, contracts for the collection of the pavage at the town gates (Arch. Mun. CC 134 and CC 257).

[144] See the Proceedings of the Commission historique du Département du Cher 1 no. 2 (1852): 82-84.

[145] Arch. Mun. CC 257, fol. 37r°.

[146] Ibid., fol. 44r°-v°.

[147] Ibid., fols. 43v°-44r°.

[148] Henri de Mazières-Mauléon, Le Régime municipal en Berri des origines à 1789 (Paris, 1905), 240.

[149] "A Jehan de Bar sergent de ladite ville ... la somme de quatre livres tournois pour ... une robe a la livree de ladite ville" (12 February 1475). Arch. Mun. CC 257, fol. 61r°.

[150] In 1475 these supplies amounted to forty sous tournois, but costs might have been somewhat elevated by the paper used to record the collection of the taille des anglais (ibid., fols. 48r°-v°).

[151] For example, the receveur Pierre de la Loe was paid a personal travel allowance of thirty sous tournois per day, plus the expenses of his mounted escort, for his journey to Paris to submit his accounts (ibid., fol. 48v°-49r°).

[152] Livre des revenues du prieuré de la Contale (1468), Arch. Cher D 263 no. 47; Arch. Mun. CC 257, fol. 39r°.

[153] HB 2: 587-588.

[154] Noel Valois, ed., Fragment d'un registre de Grand Conseil de Charles VII (mars-juin 1455) (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1883), 41.

[155] Arch. Mun. CC 257, fols. 35r°, 37v°.

[156] Arch. Mun. CC 246 (A 1092).

[157] Arch. Mun. CC 533.

[158] Arch. Mun. CC 257 fols. 61r°-62v°, 65r°-v°.

[159] Ibid., fols. 64r°-v°, 65r°-v°.

[160] Valois, Registre du Grand Conseil, 41.

[161] Chevalier, Tours, 240.

[162] Valois, Registre du Grand Conseil, 41.

[163] Arch. Mun. CC 129 (A 975).

[164] Ordonnances 11: 295. All the taxes were to be rendered in money of Gien.

[165] See E. Toubeau de Maisonneuve, "Le Droit du treizième sur le vin vendu en détail à Bourges," MSAC 4 (1870-1872): 211-239.

[166] Françoise Humbert, Les Finances municipales de Dijon du milieu du XIVe siècle à 1477 (Paris: Société les Belles Lettres, 1961), 158.

[167] Chevalier, Tours, 97.

[168] See the confirmations by Louis XII (10 January 1500) of the octrois of Louis XI and Charles VIII (Arch. Mun. CC 126) and by Francis I (1526) (Arch. Mun. CC 125).

[169] La Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry 1: 314-316.

[170] Arch. Mun. CC 257, fols. 2r°-4r°.

[171] Due to the idiosyncracies of medieval French, it is very difficult to determine precisely what this farm was for. In the case of François Bourdedieux, he is variously cited as the farmer of the péage and of the pavage (Arch. Mun. CC 246). According to the Larousse Dictionnaire de l'ancien français, pavage in the mid-fourteenth century meant a "péage pour l'entretien de la chaussée." Since the farms in question were put up for tender for each of the major gates in Bourges, it is quite possible that they were for the collection of a sort of road tax from each vehicle and beast of burden entering the town, similar to the tax granted in 1210.

[172] Arch. Mun. CC 134 (vidimus of the 8 July 1475); copies in Arch. Mun. CC 257.

[173] Arch. Mun. CC 257, fol. 3r°.

[174] Ibid., fols. 18r°-v°, 20r°-v°.

[175] Ibid., fols. 14v°-17r°.

[176] Ibid., fol. 14r°.

[177] Ibid., fol. 48r°.

[178] Valois, Registre du Grand Conseil, 41-42.

[179] "Derechief nous ordenons que li noveaus Maires, & li vies, & quatres preudeshommes de la Ville, des quiex quatre li uns, ou les deux qui auront receu, ou despandu cette année les biens de la Ville, viegnant à Paris à nos gens aux octaves de la Saint Martin ensuivant, pour rendre compte de leur recepte; & de leurs dépens." Ordonnances 1: 82-83, article 2.

[180] Stein, Charles de France, 39-40. See also Lacour, Gouvernement de l'apanage, 358-359, who assumes the same arrangements under the régime of Duke John.

[181] Chevalier, Tours, 104.

[182] Arch. Mun. CC 122 (A 968).

[183] Gueneau, Sources parisiennes, 266; Lacour, Gouvernement de l'apanage, 309-310.

[184] Letter of remission by John II in favour of Louis de Sancerre (1 May 1360), Arch. Cher 2F 52 (ms. copy by Raynal); HB 2: 303-304.

[185] Sée, Louis XI et les villes, 63-81.

[186] See Vaeson, Lettres de Louis XI 8: 38 and 9: 57 for the appointment of the mayor and échevins of Bourges for the years 1479 and 1481.

[187] See Appendix B.

[188] Raynal, Etude historique, 40.

[189] As per Gandilhon, Politique économique, 113.

[190] Arch. Mun. GG 537.

[191] See Appendix B.

[192] Arch. Mun. CC 260, CC 265, CC 269; cited by Taillemite, Vie économique et sociale, 26.

CHAPTER IV

ECCLESIASTICAL PRIVILEGE AND SECULAR AUTHORITY IN BOURGES

When considering the development and functioning of the royal and municipal administrations, it must not be forgotten that the numerous ecclesiastical establishments had claims over the bodies as well as the souls of many citizens of Bourges. A significant part of the population lived and worked in areas of the town where royal and municipal servants could not set foot on official business. The bastions of clerical autonomy represented by the walled cloister of St. Etienne in the heart of the town, and the monastic faubourgs encircling the _cité_, presented a constant challenge to the authority of the royal officers in particular. A study of these powerful _burgi_ should not only give glimpses of how the life of a lay inhabitant of an ecclesiastical bourg differed from that of his fellow townsman in the _cité_, but also should give greater insight into the manner in which royal officers exercised their authority, and into the reasons for the inhibited growth of municipal institutions.

Although the parish churches were central to the life of the different _quartiers_, and the mendicant orders flourished in Bourges in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[1] the discussion will be confined to the great religious foundations whose chief purpose was to provide a regular life for their members rather than tending to the spiritual needs of the local people, and who as a consequence required considerable material holdings for support.

In some instances the new Capetian lords of Bourges were obliged to confirm comprehensive privileges first granted by the vicomtes of Bourges to the burgeoning faubourgs, which were then of little importance. Thus in 1102 Philip I confirmed privileges originally granted to the bourg by St. Ambroix by vicomte Geoffrey in about 1012,[2] and St. Ursin claimed the same historical basis when its autonomy was confirmed by Louis VI in 1124.[3] Other privileges were initiated by the early Capetian kings, perpetuating the tradition set by their Merovingian and Carolingian predecessors; the conferment of exemptions upon the chapter of St. Etienne by Louis VII in 1174 is the most notable example.[4]

The chapters and monastic orders sought to reinforce their favoured positions by obtaining undertakings from successive monarchs to respect their immunities. These charters were carefully preserved and produced as incontrovertible evidence in the many court cases which these staunchly maintained privileges provoked. The Benedictines of St. Sulpice went to great lengths to buttress their claim to the very extensive prerogatives enjoyed by their abbey, proudly displaying charters in their cartulary purporting to have been granted by Clodomir (in about 650), Louis the Debonaire (before 840), Pepin II (in 855) and Charles the Bald (in 856).[5] This remarkable pedigree was accepted as evidence in court as late as 1531; it was not until the nineteenth century that its authenticity was questioned and at least two of the charters were shown to be forgeries, probably dating from the eleventh century.[6] Medieval kings, however, unquestioningly confirmed such venerable immunities,[7] enabling St. Sulpice to accumulate great wealth and wield considerable power in Bourges.

The hallmark of medieval governance was the right to administer justice. The king of France gradually managed to assert himself as the ultimate source of justice in his kingdom, through hearing appeals from courts in lower, particular jurisdictions in his Parlement of Paris. Of course, in domanial territory such as the *cité* of Bourges, these courts of first instance were presided over by royal magistrates. Outside the domain, justice was first meted out by seigneurs, both lay and ecclesiastical, and usually only then could one of the parties refer the case to a royal court for another, binding decision. Thus when the religious of St. Sulpice paid homage to the king for the justice in their bourg in 1454, it was stated that their jurisdiction encompassed à carefully delineated area "sans ce que nul y ait congnoissance que lesdits Religieux fors le Roy en souverainete."[8] Notwithstanding this rider recognizing the ultimate sovereignty of the king, the right of administering justice in the first instance was a lucrative privilege essential to the preservation of autonomy, and hence was jealously guarded by its possessors.

Of course, in orthodox medieval jurisprudence the king's sovereignty pertained only to temporal, not spiritual matters, nor did it extend to the clergy. The royal charter of privilege granted to St. Etienne in 1174 states that clerics were to be judged only by the archbishop or the chapter, the only exception being rapists or notorious criminals, and only then if they had committed their crimes and been apprehended outside the cathedral cloister.[9]

In their capacity as temporal lords, the ecclesiastics also had jurisdiction over laymen living in their territory. The charter of St. Etienne is unequivocal: the archbishop shall judge his own men, and the dean and chapter shall judge theirs, "et immunes erunt ab omni laici potestate."[10]

The monasteries and the cathedral employed structures parallel to the royal domanial administration to uphold their rights and laws. St. Etienne had a full complement of "baillifs prevosts sergents et autres officiers et ministres" to enforce its high, middle and low temporal justice,[11] as had the larger faubourgs. Normally these officers were laymen. The *bailli*'s duties corresponded closely to those of his counterparts in the royal service--administering the exploitation of his masters' scattered forests, farms, and buildings, collecting rents and taxes, and generally protecting seigneurial prerogatives.

Disputes both civil and criminal in nature were tried before the *bailli* of the bourg. For example, in March 1434 the *bailli* of St. Sulpice, at the request of the inhabitants, conducted an investigation of the seigneurial rights attached to the banal oven which the Benedictine monks farmed out to a local baker.[12] After hearing the testimony of several witnesses about past custom,[13] the *bailli* finally delivered his sentence on the 30 June 1435. He confirmed a previous ruling of his predecessor in 1426[14] that all the inhabitants of the bourg were obliged to bring their bread to the banal oven for baking, on pain of confiscation of the dough and a fine of sixty *sous tournois*. The baker was required to heat the oven three times a week at announced times; in return for his services and the trouble of hauling the fuel from a distant wood, the *bailli* ordered that each inhabitant pay him either four *deniers tournois* per bushel of dough, or eight small loaves of bread.[15] In 1472 when the monastery's *ban* was once again challenged, the *gens des requêtes du palais* in Paris upheld the earlier findings of the *bailli* of the bourg.[16]

Several of the religious establishments maintained prisons. The cathedral chapter's prisoners were incarcerated in Le Pilier, a massive buttress on the south side of St. Etienne, while St. Ursin had its jail in the Tour du Diable in the walls of the cité,[17] and St. Ambroix used a tower in the gate bearing its name for this purpose.[18] A pillory graced the square in front of the cathedral, where offenders were exposed to public ignominy.

Watchmen were also hired by the clerics to guard the peace within the precincts of their bourgs. In 1012 the monks of St. Ambroix were granted the right to have guards patrol the area between their bourg and their Moulin de Mirebeau.[19] A contract from about 1232 outlines the duties of the two watchmen employed by the cathedral chapter: at night they were to lock the gates, guard the canons' houses both inside and outside the cloister, and protect the canons themselves from assault; in the morning they were to open the gates and guard the cathedral, chasing therefrom swine and unsavoury characters.[20]

The latter would have been no easy task, since according to hallowed tradition churches offered sanctuary to those fleeing the law. The religious foundations took care that this custom, which could so effectively thwart the due processes of justice, was incorporated into their royal charters of immunities. St. Etienne's charter of 1174 decreed that "quicquid intra ambitum claustri continebitur, salvum sit et immune ab omne laica potestate, et similiter quisquis ad claustrum confugerit ut salvetur, salvus erit."[21] The asylum which Philip I seems to have recognized for the church itself of St. Ursin[22] was extended by Louis VI in 1124 to the entire bourg, including any territory which annually paid *cens* to the canons of St. Ursin.[23] By ancient tradition the bourg of St. Ambroix was also deemed a sanctuary.[24] The fact that such large areas of this moderately sized town offered asylum meant that any nimble miscreant could evade the royal officers of the law after a fairly brief pursuit. It was rather much to expect the king's men to respect the niceties of privilege and jurisdictional boundaries in the midst of attempting to apprehend a criminal; certainly the maze of immunities led to constant conflicts between the clergy and the royal servants in the town.

These disputes over the right to prosecute and punish seem to fall into two general categories, *ratione personae* and *ratione loci*. In the former the issue revolved around the status of the individual offender--whether he was cleric or layman, man belonging to the bourg or *bourgeois du roi*. All too often the distinction became clear only after an extensive inquiry, impossible in pressing circumstances when the authorities had to act immediately to capture a lawbreaker.

One case *ratione personae* came to the attention of the Parlement of Paris in 1262. A certain "homo capituli Bituricensis de corpore" had stolen a horse and come to Bourges to sell it. The thief was unlucky enough to encounter the horse's owner in the town, who promptly had the royal *bailli* imprison him. Even though the culprit died in jail, the cathedral chapter still felt it necessary to challenge the *bailli*'s action at the *Grands Jours* of Berry, successfully arguing that Louis VII's charter of privileges carried more weight than the *bailli*'s contention that the thief had been caught redhanded in the king's town, and so should belong to his justice.[25]

One dispute over status in 1312 escalated into such a belligerent conflict that the king himself was compelled to intervene. The Archbishop of Bourges imprisoned a Lombard called Doffs for an unknown reason, claiming he was a clerk. The bailli of Bourges argued that Doffs was a layman, and punished this breach of the royal prerogative by seizing all the Archbishop's temporal possessions, occupying eight of his manors with forty-eight sergeants, valets, and horses. Philip IV sternly ordered his bailli to vacate the premises and pay the damages out of his own purse, since he was not competent to judge whether a man be clerk or layman.[26]

While the Capetian and Valois monarchs made a practice of upholding the privileges of the religious foundations, on occasion they did move to protect their own bourgeois du roi from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Thus in November 1450 Charles VII forbade the chapter of St. Etienne to convoke Pierre de la Loe, a prominent bourgeois of Bourges, before its tribunal. Apparently de la Loe had been constantly harassed and menaced by Guillaume Guinace and his comrades. When de la Loe complained to a royal sergeant, they could not be found to appear before the prévôt. At ten o'clock in the evening of September 15th de la Loe left a reception in the archbishop's palace. As he was crossing the cloister he and his companion were attacked by a gang who pursued them as far as the Porte Gordaine. In the mêlée one of the ruffians was injured, and the dean and chapter of St. Etienne summoned de la Loe to trial for assault within their cloister.[27] It is probable that the motivation in the king's intervention lay more in the particular circumstances of the case than in a desire to defend one of his bourgeois from the church courts, since the incident did occur within the cathedral precincts.

On these grounds alone the chapter probably had felt justified in pursuing the matter, since ecclesiastical jurisdiction also encompassed the right to arrest and try any wrongdoer found in its territory, lay and cleric alike. One of the more remarkable cases *ratione loci* occurred in 1286, when a theft was committed in the cathedral cloister. The culprits were arrested by the officers of St. Etienne but on the grounds that they had declared themselves to be *bourgeois du roi* the *bailli* carried them off to the royal prison over the protests of the canons. By the time the canons received action on their complaint the thieves had died in jail. Since justice must be seen to be done, restitution to the chapter was punctiliously carried out. The *prêvôt*'s lieutenant duly delivered two sacks of hay, to represent the thieves, to the chapter's *bailli* at the cloister gate by Notre Dame de Sales. The sacks were incarcerated in the cathedral prison for the night, tried before a tribunal of the *bailli* and bourgeois of the bourg, and sentenced to be executed by hanging. Thus were the rights of the canons vindicated.[28]

Usually the restitution of prisoners to the religious authorities was not delayed to the extent of requiring such extraordinary measures. Transfers of prisoners such as that which took place at the gate of the cathedral cloister on the 29 August 1437 must have been fairly commonplace. On the orders of the lieutenant of the *bailli*, André Boursault, sergeant of the king, returned a German immigrant to the spot on which he had arrested him a short time before without the permission of the canons or their *bailli*, who had protested this breach of their privileges.[29]

While the king's authority stopped at the gates of the bourgs, there was some ambiguity as to whether the officers of the clergy could perform their duties within the boundaries of the *cité*. Certainly the right of asylum did not apply both ways, for a fugitive could not find sanctuary from the courts of the ecclesiastical bourgs in the town proper. This is well illustrated by a case in 1415, where Jehan Flory, sergeant of the Duke of Berry, admitted to arresting Guillaume Breban, who had committed some crimes in the house of a resident of the bourg of St. Sulpice. Two sergeants of the Benedictine monks "avoient fait bonne poursuite de le prandre au dit bourg, mail il [sic] ne lavoient peu apprehendre et sen eschappa et fouy en ladicte ville de Bourges ... " Despite the fact that he had arrested Breban on domanial territory, the ducal sergeant was constrained to surrender his prisoner to the monastery's officers at the portcullis of the gate of St. Sulpice, the boundary of the bourg.[30] Thus in this case the jurisdiction in which the crime was committed predominated over the jurisdiction in which the criminal was arrested, despite the fact that the religious authorities could claim to exercise justice over all persons entering their territory, even after they had broken the law elsewhere.

It should not be assumed that relations between the officers of the clergy and of the king were constantly acrimonious. On occasion the ecclesiastics were willing to relax the letter of their privileges somewhat in the interests of law enforcement. Thus in 1446 the bailli of St. Sulpice elected to extradite a prisoner for trial before the royal tribunal; although the man was charged with several crimes committed in the bourg and had been arrested there, it was decided that the bailli of the king could better deal with him "cum idem prisonarious maiora delicta et in ampliora quantitate in villa Bituris perpetrasset ... " The formal transfer was made amicably in front of witnesses at the gate of St. Sulpice.[31]

A major difficulty with these discrete jurisdictions in Bourges was ascertaining the exact boundaries; the territories marked off by walls and gates were clear enough, but there were still areas of ambiguity.

The judicial territory of the sprawling faubourg of St. Sulpice was often challenged by officers of the king. The area between the twelfth century town walls and the Yèvrette by the Porte St. Sulpice was claimed by both the abbot and the *bailli* of Bourges. The Parlement of Paris ruled in the monastery's favour in 1270.[32] The issue arose again in 1332[33] and in 1350 when the *procureur du roi* tried to prevent the *bailli* of St. Sulpice from exercising his master's justice in this general area. The *bailli* of Bourges held that the monks had a better claim to the territory, a decision which was upheld by the Parlement of Paris.[34] In 1391 Guillaume, Bishop of Angoulême and administrator of St. Sulpice, still felt it necessary to declare rather pugnaciously the boundaries of the justice of the bourg, taking care to include specifically the contested area.[35]

Boundary disputes erupted not only between the clergy and the royal officers, but also between the different ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The archbishop of Bourges and the dean and chapter of St. Etienne bore a traditional animosity toward one another over jurisdiction over the cathedral and cloister. On one occasion at least the officers of the royal domain sought to profit from this discord. In 1314 the *bailli* and *procureur* of Bourges arrested some servants of the Archbishop on suspicion of involvement in a murder which had been committed in the archiepiscopal palace, located on the south side of the cathedral cloister. In the three-way court case which ensued, the Archbishop, the dean and chapter of St. Etienne, and the royal *bailli* all claimed total judicial jurisdiction over the cloister and the archiepiscopal residence. The

Parlement of Paris decided that the Archbishop had the high and low justice over his own palace, the canons exercised their justice within the cloister itself, and the *bailli* of Bourges could pretend to no claim at all, and was to hand over the prisoners to the Archbishop forthwith.[36]

In 1406 the Archbishop and the canons went to court yet again over jurisdiction over the cloister, and reached an accord to forget past wrongs.[37] In 1452 authority over the cathedral itself was called into question. The dean and chapter complained to Charles VII that servants of the Archbishop Jean Coeur and of his uncle Lambert Leodepap, *guard de la prévôté* of Bourges, who apparently were in collusion, burst into St. Etienne at midday when all the canons had retired to their residences for lunch. After chasing everyone from the cathedral and closing its doors the servants seized two fugitives who had sought sanctuary there "et par force mis hors de la franchise et immunite dicelle en les batant et leur faisant sang et playe." The two were incarcerated in the prison of the Archbishop. Claiming their church was now polluted, the canons refused to hold divine service. Charles VII ordered his *premier huissier* of the Parlement to convoke the quarreling parties in front of the main portal of St. Etienne to execute the royal letters maintaining the chapter's rights. The Archbishop refused to comply so he was ordered to appear before Parlement to explain himself.[38] Whether he did so or not is uncertain, but undoubtedly the right of the canons prevailed.

Trials in the courts of the ecclesiastical bourgs did not differ materially from those in the royal courts in Bourges except in one respect: judicial duels were permitted. As noted in Chapter II, Louis IX abolished trial by battle throughout the royal domain in 1260, decreeing that only the testimony of witnesses should be used to decide civil and criminal matters.[39] The temporal courts of the church in Bourges continued to order duels for at least the last decades of the thirteenth century. One *bourgeois du roi* fought in a battle ordered by the tribunal of St. Etienne in 1280.[40] In about 1270 an inquest was conducted into the validity and procedures used for judicial duels in the bourg St. Ursin. In all the depositions of witnesses it is stated that the practice was for the bourg court to order a battle, usually in cases of homicide, and then hand the prisoner over to the royal authorities to conduct the proceedings.[41]

This was a rather peculiar procedure since the royal courts themselves could not order such judicial tests. It was however but one quirk in a system whereby the officers of the king were charged with executing the sentences delivered by the ecclesiastical courts. For while they enjoyed the administration of high justice and so could pass sentences *etiam ad penum corporalem usque ad mortem*,[42] religious principles forbade them to shed blood.

> ... au regard de la criminelle qui quant aucun estoit constitue prisonner pour cas requerant pugnition corporelle que les officiers dudit bourg faisoient et avoient acoustume de faire le proces et condampnez iceulx delinquans a mort ou autre peine corporelle comme a este fustige banny avoir coppe loreille ou autre abscision de membre ou autre peine corporelle selon lexigence des case. Et apres ladicte condampnation lesditz officiers dudit bourg rendent et ont acoustume de rendre le delinquant tout juge audit procureur du Roy prevost ou autre officier pour le Roy a Bourges ausquelz la condampnation est baillee affin que selon icelle ilz facent executer ledit delinquant par lexecution de la haute justice ... [43]

This procedure described for St. Sulpice was equally applicable to the other religious foundations dispensing criminal justice. Local royal officers sometimes baulked at performing this duty. In 1478 it required a decree from the Parlement of Paris to compel the *procureur du roi* to hang Jehan Bourgoing, who had been condemned by the tribunal of St. Sulpice a full six months earlier.[44] In at least four other cases of the same period the procureur complained bitterly because he was forced to carry out the sentences of this bourg.[45]

Bourgs under ecclesiastical jurisdiction were not uncommon in medieval towns. The administration of justice in Bourges did have one anomaly, however: the "seizaine de mai," otherwise known as "la justice des bonnets verts." In 1145 Louis VII confirmed an ancient and most valuable privilege of the chapter of St. Aoustrille-du-Château, whereby in commemoration of the feast day of their patron saint, the canons exercised all rights of civil and criminal justice in the town and suburbs from midday on May 16th to midday on May 23rd. In addition to gleaning the profits of justice, the canons were allowed to collect all the taxes and fees paid at the gates of the town and faubourgs, at double their normal value.[46] This lucrative privilege was transferred to the Sainte Chapelle in 1392, and was not returned when the college of St. Aoustrille-du-Château was re-established in 1404.[47]

In 1265 the Parlement of Paris had Henri de Gaudonvilliers, bailli of Bourges, and Pierre de Coudroy, a Franciscan friar, conduct an inquiry into the claims of St. Aoustrille that the "seizaine de mai" gave it judicial powers not only in the town but also throughout the Septaine, wherever the royal prévôt was normally judge. The inquiry made no definite decision about the Septaine, but concluded that the chapter had an undeniable right to all justice in the town and its faubourgs during that week.[48]

The canons took possession of their rights each May 16th with pagentry. First the chapter's bailli, prévôt, procureur, and two sergeants heard a mass, and swore an oath to police the town and to inspect all the merchants' businesses to ensure that the ordonnances, such as the use of the correct measures, were observed. A procession of the canons and their officers visited all the gates of the town to take possession of the keys, then crossed the cloister of St. Etienne to the royal palace, much to the fury of the cathedral canons. The chapter's police ordonnances were announced at all the crossroads and other public places.[49] The procession was accompanied by choirboys wearing green caps (hence the name "justice des bonnets verts"),[50] and two or three minstrels were brought by the canons from Sancerre and elsewhere each year to add to the ceremonial atmosphere with their trumpets and "instruments bas et haulx."[51]

Needless to say these unusual and profitable powers created great hostility in Bourges amid laity and clergy alike. Abuses were likely since offenders had to be arrested, tried, and executed, fined or otherwise punished all within the space of one week.[52] In 1269 an officer of St. Aoustrille had so exceeded the bounds of his authority that the bailli of Bourges stepped in. As the man was a clerk, and hence was not accountable before a secular court, the bailli seized the property of his employers. Since the canons denied responsibility for the misdeeds of their servant, the Parlement of Paris decided that they should not be fined and their property should be restored to them, but directed that henceforth the officers exercising the "justice des bonnets verts" should be liable to judgement by the bailli of Bourges, and so could not be clerks.[53] The officers of the royal domain were strictly enjoined not to hinder the canons in the exercise of their special privileges by Philip V in 1318 and Charles IV in 1322.[54]

Such interference was as likely to come from the other ecclesiastical establishments as it was from the king's men. St. Sulpice and St. Etienne in particular keenly resented their colleagues' annual week of glory, since it temporarily robbed them of their own authority. In 1347 the chapters of St. Sulpice and St. Aoustrille reached an accord of sorts about the trial of inhabitants of the bourg of St. Sulpice before the tribunal of the "seizaine de mai" for refusal to pay the requisite taxes and customs. The Benedictine monks however still were not reconciled to the foreign exercise of justice in their bourg.[55] The endless difficulties associated with the "justice des bonnets verts" continued until the privilege was finally abolished in 1757 when the college of the Sainte Chapelle was dissolved.[56]

Every royal charter confirming the temporal prerogatives of a religious foundation severely warned domanial officers not to impinge upon the clerics' enjoyment of their privileges. Although reprimands from the king were common enough whenever a royal officer overstepped the limits of his powers,[57] he was not likely ~~to~~ escape so lightly. The offended ecclesiastical establishments were able to impose public punishment upon any who breached their autonomy, even prominent officials

In 1240 the canons of St. Etienne placed a triple ban of excommunication upon Guerry Gareau, *prévôt* of Bourges, for having imprisoned the chapter's butcher. The *prévôt* had to release the prisoner and give the chapter a silver-bound book of the Evangels before he was absolved of his trespass.[58] In 1280 another *prévôt* of Bourges, Eudes Sarrazin, had to pay a fine to the canons for confiscating a measure from a vendor selling wine in the cathedral cloister.[59] On the 26 December 1332 the notorious Hugues Todre paid public penance for having beaten a clerk in the cathedral when he was prévôt of Bourges in the early 1320's. Bareheaded and garbed in sackcloth and ashes, Todre was required to lead a formal procession of the canons and choirboys around the cathedral, present a lighted torch as token of his sin to the dean, and recite a public confession. Todre also had to pay a fine and the expenses incurred by the canons in bringing him to justice.[60]

Secure in the knowledge that the kings of France would consistently protect ecclesiastical autonomy from the aggression of royal officials, the clergy of Bourges were understandably apprehensive when the town was taken from the Crown's domain to become part of a ducal apanage. While John of Berry did make the occasional gesture to restrain the activities of his servants,[61] these concerns would seem to have had at least some justification. On the 5 March 1361 John I issued letters to St. Sulpice forbidding the Duke or his officers to interfere with the monastery's autonomy; these letters had to be reiterated on the 18 June 1362,[62] while Charles V deemed it necessary to issue yet another ban in 1366 which was renewed in 1379.[63] By this time, however, the fragmentation of justice in Bourges had become so firmly founded in precedents and in royal charters that any efforts to dislodge it, whether on the initiative of domanial officers or the Duke himself, could be of no avail.

The power of the monasteries in Bourges was founded not only on their judicial prerogatives; as an economic force they made their impact felt well beyond the confines of their bourgs.

With the notable exception of the royal market at the Place Gordaine, the ecclesiastical establishments dominated the market scene, and in particular the large annual market fairs which attracted farmers, vendors, and petty merchants from all over Berry. The right to hold such fairs was granted by the lord of Bourges as a mark of his favour toward a particular foundation. This could be a valuable privilege, for while the religious took on the responsibility of organising and policing the fair, they also enjoyed substantial profits from renting the stalls and levying taxes and fees on the merchandise and vendors at the fair.

The most ancient of the medieval fairs was conferred upon the canons of St. Ambroix by Vicomte Geoffrey the Noble "ex mea proprietate" in 1012. These biannual fairs commenced on June 29th and October 2nd and lasted seven days and nights, during which all sorts of merchandise changed hands.[64] The canons were also permitted to collect the pedagium, a traveller's toll, and the portagium, or péage, at the gate of St. Ambroix.[65]

In 1142 Louis VII confirmed his father's gift to the monastery of St. Martin-des-Brives of an annual market to be held on the feastday of the monks' patron saint; included in the act of donation were all the consuetudines customarily collected for the Crown.[66]

The so-called "foire aux gâteaux" held every August 10th was granted to the abbey of St. Laurent by Philip Augustus from the domain of Bourges in 1200.[67] In 1473 the procureur du roi and the prévôt forbade the deputies of the abbess to collect the revenues of the fair. The nuns obtained royal letters confirming their rights, but the procureur nonetheless refused to comply. In the resulting court battle, nine witnesses, including several royal sergeants, a baker, a tanner, a cloth weaver, and an oil vendor testified that in their memory the sergeants of St. Laurent always had peacefully levied a tax of two deniers parisis on each stall and on all other merchandise laid out on the pavement for sale. By custom this tax was divided evenly between the abbess of St.

Laurent, the abbot of St. Sulpice, and the voyer of Bourges. The inquiry was concluded on the 27 July 1474 in favour of the convent.[68]

The fair which occasioned the most disputes was created in 1153 by an act of Louis VII in favour of the college of St. Ursin.[69] During the week of December 27th to January 2nd, the canons claimed the right to "lever la loede par toute ceste ville qui estoit autant que le Roy notre sire a acoustume prandre a autres jours de lannee sur les marchans ... "[70] Since the loede (or leude or tonlieu as it was otherwise known) was levied on goods entering all the gates of the town, it yielded handsome profits indeed. In 1381 the canons of St. Ursin complained that John Duke of Berry had "mis la main" on their fair. The bourgeois of Bourges called to judge the case confirmed the canons' possession and decided that "la main dudit monseigneur le duc ... devoir estre levee a leur proffit ... et silence ace devoir estre imposee audit procureur de monseigneur le duc ... "[71] The Duke was only temporarily chastened, for in 1406 he again challenged the canons' rights of the leude and visitation for the duration of the fair. Again Duke John met with defeat.[72] The procureur du roi reopened the long-standing dispute in 1443[73] and again in 1468, when he complained that St. Ursin was attempting to impose a new tax which caused "certains grans pennes au Roy nostre sire." The canons claimed that the leude included the right to "prandre sur chascun charbonner estrange entrans et advenans charbon avendre en ceste dicte ville de Bourges durant lesdits sept jours ung sac de charbon ou quatre deniers parisis pour ledit sac ... " Upon the presentation of documentary proof, the canons won their case.[74] The last dispute of which there is evidence in the medieval records took place in January 1474, when Lambert Jeudy, the fermier stationed at the gates of the town to collect the king's taxes, tried to prevent the canons of St. Ursin from assuming possession during their fair. The royal procureur and avocat then appointed Jehan Boideau to levy the leude for the week. It required an ordonnance from the lieutenant of the bailli, however, before either Jeudy or Boideau could be constrained to yield their takings to St. Ursin.[75]

All this expensive litigation notwithstanding, the college of St. Ursin was clearly of the opinion that such fairs were highly profitable, for in June 1423 it requested Charles VII to grant it another fair on the Monday following Christ's Ascension, in order to finance the repair of its church. The bailli of Bourges was directed by the king's gens des comptes to hold a public hearing into the feasibility of such a fair, which St. Ursin claimed would not compete with any other fair in the town or its vicinity. Finally on the 8 May 1429 the gens des comptes permitted the foundation of the new fair, directing that the canons cause it to be announced with trumpets at all the accustomed places in the town and throughout the bailliage.[76]

Of all the monasteries enjoying special economic privileges, St. Sulpice was the most wealthy and powerful. As we have seen, some of its extensive prerogatives were based upon forged charters, some of which went so far as to claim all seigneurial rights in the town of Bourges altogether.[77] Although the Benedictines did not act in support of such sweeping claims, they nonetheless were zealous in their defence of those rights accorded to them by custom, and did not hesitate to seek to further them whenever the opportune moment arose.

In 1435 St. Sulpice tried to reap some of the revenues of St. Ursin, claiming one half of the leude and other fees associated with its fair.[78] The court decision in favour of St. Ursin may seem somewhat surprising in light of Louis VII's charter to St. Sulpice in 1168, apparently confirming the donation of "medietate omnium nundinarum annualium, exceptis nundinis leprosorum, in quibus pro medietate viginti solidos censuales ecclesia Sancti Sulpicii habere dinoscitur"; to this was added one half of the revenues from the weekly markets.[79] It is quite probable that the antecedent for this clause was as fictitious as that claimed for the domanial tonlieu, although this was not recognized during the medieval period. We know that St. Laurent shared one third of the revenues from its fair with St. Sulpice. However, the fact that St. Sulpice did not think to take St. Ursin to court over the perquisites of its fair until 1435, and then lost the case, suggests that the revenues had not been shared up to that date, and that either St. Ursin had obtained royal letters of exemption or else its charter of 1153 was held to take precedence over St. Sulpice' charter of 1168.

But if there was doubt cast over St. Sulpice' rights on the religious fairs, there was virtually no challenge to its claim to half the revenues from the péage and tonlieu normally collected by the lord of Bourges in the town and Septaine, for this was well entrenched in custom.[80] In 1256 the monastery apparently overstepped its bounds in levying these taxes on residents of Bourges who by custom were exempt.[81] The same judgement of the Parlement of Paris which upheld the inhabitants of Bourges on this issue confirmed the Benedictines' right to levy a salt tax, a right once again based on the forged charters of Louis the Debonaire and Charles the Bald.[82] The tax was twofold, allowing the monastery to take from each vehicle carrying salt into Bourges one fistful of salt per horse, and levying a further fistful of salt on each vendor in the marketplace; those selling salt in their own houses were exempt.[83]

The fact that such ubiquitous taxes and fees could stifle the local economy is demonstrated by the move in 1484 to persuade St. Sulpice to renounce its leude and to allow all goods to enter the town freely during the fair of All-Saints Day. The town desperately needed to attract more merchants to buttress its campaign to obtain the fairs of Lyon. The monks agreed to this concession for one time only, however,[84] and as late as the eighteenth century taxes from the commerce of Bourges continued to flow into the Benedictine coffers.

The secular and regular clergy were the biggest landlords in Bourges, both in the faubourgs and in the city itself. Real estate--pastures, meadows, orchards, houses and other buildings--was a sound investment with a steady revenue, despite the periodic fires which swept through the town. For example, Notre Dame de la Comtal derived a fairly substantial income from renting properties both in the vicinity of the priory and in other parishes such as St. Jean-le-Viel and St. Pierre-le-Guillard.[85] In 1463 the monastery of St. Sulpice rented at least nine houses to tenants on the Rue Mirebeau, in the parish of St. Pierre-le-Marché.[86] Some charitable foundations such as the leper hospital of St. Lazare and the Hôtel-Dieu of Bourges depended heavily upon rental properties to finance their operations.[87]

The religious foundations also owned almost all the mills on the outskirts of Bourges. These mills were sometimes acquired by endowment; thus St. Ambroix came to possess eight mills through the pious generosity of Vicomte Geoffrey and his wife Eldeburge in the eleventh century.[88] In 1405 one of these gifts, the Moulin du Pré, brought the canons a handsome rent of six livres tournois per annum.[89] Each bourg had at least one banal mill to serve the needs of the monastery or college and the lay inhabitants.

The distinction between the ecclesiastical suburbs and the town proper was drawn not only in matters of justice but also in the practice of trades and professions. The religious foundations seem to have exercised a fair degree of control over the métiers in their bourg, although rigid division was not really possible since despite its cellular development the urban conglomeration of Bourges functioned as a single economic unit.

Confusion sometimes resulted. In 1469 the monastery of St. Sulpice had a confrontation with the guild of barber-surgeons in the town of Bourges. This community was closely knit and highly organised; it was to put up an obstinate resistance in 1476 to the pressure of none other than Louis XI who wanted admitted to the guild one Eugène Robert, whom the barbers maintained was incompetent and unable to perform a satisfactory chef-d'oeuvre.[90] The Benedictine monks explained to the king in making their complaint against the guild that

> ... ils ayent droict et de tout temps et d'antienneté accoustumé de permectre à toutes manières de gens mécaniques, soient barbiers ou autres, de tenir ouvrouers et excercer leur mestier dedans led. bourg, nonobstant qu'ils ne soient maistres passez par les maistres de lad. ville de Bourges, ...

The barbers of the town took umbrage at this disregard for their authority, and they managed to drive out the one barber resident in the bourg through such tactics as kidnapping his servants. This left the bourg without health care services, for "comme il est tout notoire, la ville dud. Bourges ferme à l'encontre dud. bourg et ne peut et ne pourroit l'en avoir les barbiers d'icelle ville de nuict ne autrement à l'eure opportune, obstant ce qu'ils ne sont demourans ne aussi ne veulent y estre ... " Louis XI sternly forbade the guild to prevent further a barber-surgeon from working in the bourg, citing its ancient autonomy.[91] This case provides some evidence therefore that guilds operating in the town proper did not have jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical suburbs, although they might have pretensions in this direction.

The dominant industry in the bourg of St. Sulpice as in the rest of Bourges was the manufacture of textiles. The monks themselves seem to have had some financial investment in the industry since in April 1440 they leased a "moulin a draps et appartenances" situated in the bourg on the Yèvrette to two fullers for an annual rent of sixty-four marcs plus the fulling of one piece of cloth.[92]

In 1423 a dispute erupted over the jurisdiction over quality control in the bourg. The bourgeois and inhabitants of the town brought suit against the abbot and monks, claiming that letters of Charles V as regent and of John Duke of Berry gave them the rights of visitation in the town and all the faubourgs and throughout the Septaine. The four elected visitors were accustomed to visit all the workshops to inspect the cloth; if it was found defective, those responsible were convicted and fined at the Croix de Pierre by St. Pierre-le-Marché or in the royal palace. The defendants maintained that the visitors had no right to set foot in their bourg, citing their exemption from lay jurisdiction and in particular from that of the Duke of Berry. The bailli of St. Pierre le Moutier, who curiously enough was judge at Bourges in this case, ruled that St. Sulpice had the stronger case.[93]

The issue continued to simmer until 1443 when Charles VII promulgated his general statutes for the cloth industry at Bourges. He directed that the six elected visitors should exercise full rights of inspection in the bourg of St. Sulpice and throughout the Septaine as they did in the town itself. Residents of the bourg were to be eligible for election. The visitors had to request permission from the monks before they entered the bourg, "laquelle demande leur sera octroye sans delay." In Bourges the fines were divided four ways: one portion to the king, another to the visitors, and the third and fourth to the fullers' and weavers' guilds. In St. Sulpice the abbot was to have the king's share. The article included the proviso that this was in no way to prejudice the autonomy of the bourg in other matters.

A free exchange of artisans between the bourg and the town was also provided for:

> Item que tous tixerans et foulons du bourg de Saint Sulpice pourront besonger a Bourges se bon leur semble en tenant les usaiges et heures de ceulx de Bourges et en paiant les usaiges coustumes et droiz qui sont ordonne a Bourges sur chacun mestier et pareillement ceulx de Bourges pourront besonger au bourg toutesfoiz que bon leur semblera sans perdre leur franchise et demeuront les cinq maistres foulons que sont de present audit bourg de Saint Sulpice et les tixerans aussi.[94]

It would seem therefore that there remained some variation in the "usages" between bourg and town, even if the quality control was now made uniform. But clearly the bourg of St. Sulpice had had to admit that it was not an isolated economic entity.

The discussion to this point has attempted to convey some impression of how a citizen who fell afoul of the law or a guild member might feel about the preponderate ecclesiastical influence in his town. But what of the attitudes of the proverbial man on the street? In the main the surviving records are silent on this point.

There is one notable exception, however, when the common folk of Bourges were roused to protest a move by one powerful monastery which they deemed to impinge upon their customary liberties. The object of the controversy was the Pré Fichaut, a meadow to the north of the cité owned by the monks of St. Ambroix. For years the residents of the cité had freely used the meadow for their recreation. In 1345, however, the monks decided that they needed to improve and protect their meadow, where they harvested hay and cultivated trees;[95] accordingly they dug ditches around the area and posted signs warning off trespassers and indicating that the monastery property was under the royal safeguard. Some outraged citizens took up arms one night and invaded the meadow, trampling the hay and the placards and filling in the ditches. They then vented their fury on the monastery itself, breaking down the door and injuring several monks and servants.[96] The monks obtained royal letters to the bailli ordering the inhabitants to repair the damage, but the municipal procureur refused to enact them.[97] When the issue came before the Parlement of Paris ten witnesses for each side gave testimony.[98] In essence, St. Ambroix argued that the Pré Fichaut was private property and that the claim of the inhabitants "nest en rien fondee de droit commun ... " while the defendants responded that "le proffis communs doit estre mis devant le proffit singulier."[99] The dispute was not resolved until an accord was reached on the 8 May 1354 between the monks and the inhabitants assembled by the town crier in the priory of Notre Dame de la Comtal. It was agreed that the Pré Fichaut was legally owned by the monastery, and "les habitants renoncent au droit de s'y promener ... et aucun d'eulx ne pourra y entrer sauf en cas de nécessité, comme l'incendie ou de guerre, à s'y retirer eux et leurs meubles." The matter was concluded without expenditure by either party.[100]

Other than this case there is little to indicate any antagonism toward the ecclesiastical establishments on the part of the townspeople. There was of course the outburst of anticlerical feeling when the Pastoureaux occupied Bourges, and the incident shortly thereafter when the archbishop's palace was stoned by a mob. The town's swing toward Protestantism in the sixteenth century may well have been the product of resentment aggravated over long centuries by the worldly wealth and power of the canonical colleges and monasteries.

When the overweening temporal power of the great religious foundations is considered, the whole problem of government in Bourges is brought into focus. The privileges of the autonomous bourgs put fetters on the royal domanial officials and, even worse, stunted the growth of viable municipal institutions. Certainly the maze of seigneurial jurisdictions and immunities complicated the life of the medieval citizen of Bourges, whether he resided in the faubourgs or in the cité.

Footnotes

[1] See Marie-Jeanne Maurage, "Implantation des ordres mendiants à Bourges XIIIème-XVème," (Unpublished dissertation for *Maîtrise en histoire*, (1973-1974).

[2] *Ordonnances* supplementary volume: 156.

[3] Arch. Cher 14G 233.

[4] Arch. Cher G1 fols 13-14.

[5] Arch. Cher 4H 9, fols 1r°-4r° (Cartulary A of St. Sulpice): Arch. Cher 4H 176 no. 2 (copies made in 1531 and used in a law suit brought against the mayor and *échevins* of Bourges and the inspector of meat and fish).

[6] Jacques Soyer, "Les Chartes fausses de l'abbaye des Bénédictins de Saint-Sulpice-lès-Bourges," *MSHLASC* (1896), 321-334; Jacques de Font-Réaulx, *Les Droits de tonlieu de l'abbaye Saint-Sulpice de Bourges et un diplôme falsifié de Charles le Chauve*, extract from *Bulletin philologique et historique jusqu'à 1715* (1922-1929).

[7] For confirmation of these charters by successive monarchs from Louis VII (1168) to Francis I (1519), see Arch. Cher 4H 128, 4H 130 nos. 1, 4.

[8] Arch. Cher 4H 133 no. 2, fol. 1v°; see also Arch. Cher 4H 180.

[9] "Nulli autem laicae potestati liceat pro aliquo fori facto manum mittere in Clericum, vel religiosum, nec in res eorundem, sed ipsi iusticiabuntur per Capitulum suum vel per Archiepiscopum ipsum vel per ministeriales eius, nisi forte ad praesens fori factum multa vel raptus, ita publice fuerint infra claustrum deprehensi, quod si eorum delictum publicum sit et notorium, res tamen ipsorum infra claustrum contentus semper salvus esse praecipimus et immunes." Arch. Cher G1 fols. 14-15.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Letter of John Duke of Berry confirming St. Etienne's privileges, 20 June 1411. Arch. Cher 8G 276, fols. 5r°-6v° (XVIIth century copy); *Libertez, Immunitez*, 45. In 1426 the college of St. Ursin received royal letters permitting it to "commectre ung prevost pour lexecution de leur justice et pour avoir le resort dudit prevost du bailly." Arch. Cher 14G 234.

[12] In 1460 Jean le Maire and his family paid a fee of nine *livres tournois* per annum for the banal oven of St. Sulpice; in addition they were required to spend one hundred *livres* over the next ten years for repairs. (Arch. Cher 4H 195 no. 2; summary Arch. Cher 4H 1, fol. 336r°).

[13] Arch. Cher 4H 196 no. 2.

[14] Arch. Cher titre scellé 857 (original dated 24 May 1426); Arch. Cher 4H 196 no. 1 (*vidimus* dated 1448).

[15] Arch. Cher 4H 196 no. 6; summary Arch. Cher 4H 1, fol. 38r°-v°.

[16] Three mss. dated August, October and December 1472 in Arch. Cher 4H 196.

[17] Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, 28.

[18] Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique monumentale*, 230.

[19] Ibid., 229.

[20] "Noveritis quod Stephanus et Sulpiciis, claustarii Bituricensis, in nostra constituti presencia, juraverunt quod claustrum et domos canonicorum, in claustro et extra claustrum, et etiam, pro posse suo, ipsas canonicorum personas custodient bona fide, et vigilabunt et excubiabunt de nocte ipsum claustrum, portis seratis in sero, et in mane apertis ab eisdem claustariis, et de die custodient ecclesiam, et ab ea fugabunt trutannos et trutannas, et non sustinebunt quod per ecclesiam inhonesta et turpia deferantur . . ." Alfred de Boissoudy, *Le Cartulaire de St. Etienne de Bourges (XIIIe siècle)* (Bourges: H. Sire, 1884), 8.

[21] Arch. Cher G1, fols. 13-14.

[22] "Et super haec omnia ita liberum facio ipsum ut nemo ex meis hominibus neque praepositus neque vicarius neque aliquis serviens aliquid ibi accipiat neque contrarium faciat. Et si aliquis homo ad ipsam ecclesiam fugerit, nemo praesumat eum prosequi neque judicare nec vi ab ipso burgo abstrahere." Giry, *Actes de Philippe Ier*, 370 no. 146; Claude, *Topographie*, 170 n. 1761.

[23] "Quia etiam se quis per quolibet fori facto intrari res ausdem burgi confugent nullus prosequi aut vi extrahere de burgo audent sed sub protectione canonicorum liber et indempnatus quo et quando voluerit recedat intra fines autem burgi continetur undecumque canonici censum annualiter recipiunt." Arch Cher 14G 233 (original).

[24] Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, 29.

[25] Olim 1: 550 no. 17.

[26] Arch. Cher G1, fol. 25; *HB* 2: 262.

[27] Arch. Cher titre scellé 43 (copy dated 5 May 1451).

[28] *HB* 2: 326-327.

[29] Arch. Cher titre scellé 42.

[30] Arch. Cher 4H 180 no. 1.

[31] Arch. Cher 4H 180 no. 3.

[32] Chénon, *Jours de Berry*, 94.

[33] Letter of Philip VI, Arch. Cher 4H 173 no. 1.

[34] Arch. Cher 4H 173 (original); Arch. Cher 4H 126 no. 7 and 4H 14 no. 17 (copies).

[35] Buhot de Kersers, "Essai de reconstitution," 242-243, no. 142. A similar dispute was arbitrated by the Parlement of Paris in 1349, when it was ruled that the monks exercised their justice over the Rue "Esconeilhe," or de la Pescherie, as well as several other disputed areas in the bourg St. Sulpice. (Furgeot, *Actes du Parlement* 2: 349 no. 9505).

[36] Arch. Cher G1 fols. 17-19.

[37] Arch. Cher 2F 143.

[38] Arch. Cher 8G 279.

[39] *Ordonnances* 1: 86-93.

[40] Raynal, *Etude historique*, 22-23.

[41] Arch. Cher 3F 11 (ms. copied by Barbarin from Arch. Nat. K 1147 no. 34).

[42] Letter of Louis XI dated 14 August 1476 confirming the judicial jurisdiction of the college of St. Ursin (Arch. Cher 14G 234); quoted by the canons in their defence in a court battle with the *procureur du roi* in 1477 (ibid.).

[43] Arch. Cher 4H 180; summary Arch. Cher 4H 1 fol. 290 r°-v°.

[44] Ibid.

[45] See Arch. Cher 4H 173 for mss. of 1477, 1478, 1479, and 1481.

[46] "Notum facimus . . . quod canonici beati Austregisili Bituricensis feriam que in festivitate ejusdem sancti menso maio, XIII° Kal. junii, per dies septem, ipso videlicet festivitatis dies, tribusque precendentibus et subsequentibus tribus, annisque singulos, celebratur, et justicias ad integrum et consuetudines duplices in ipse feria et in portis civitatis et omnium suburbiorum . . . ." *HB* 2: 532.

[47] Henri Fournier, "La Justice des Bonnets Verts à Bourges," *MSHLASC*, 2nd series, 1 (1868): 14.

[48] *Olim* 1: 202.

[49] Fournier, "Bonnets Verts," 15-19, 27.

[50] Ibid., 18.

[51] Payments to musicians of ten *sous tournois* each appear in the May accounts of the Sainte Chapelle from 1406 to 1473. See Gandilhon, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des arts*, 13-14, 18, 19-25.

[52] Fournier, "Bonnets Verts," 39.

[53] *Olim* 1: 796-797.

[54] Fournier, "Bonnets Verts," 12.

[55] Arch. Cher 4H 179 no. 1.

[56] Fournier, "Bonnets Verts," 57-58.

[57] See, for example, Philip VI's reprimand to his *bailli*, *prévôt*, and sergeants in Bourges on the 13 August 1344 ordering them to desist from making arrests and "plusieurs extorsions" in the cloister of St. Etienne (Arch. Cher 8G 278).

[58] Arch. Cher 2F 48, fol. 129 (ms. copy of Raynal).

[59] Baron de Girardot, *Histoire du chapitre de Saint-Etienne* (Orléans: Alexandre Jacob, 1853), 68.

[60] Arch. Cher 8G 278: see also P. Morel, "Pénitence publique de Hugues Todre ancien prévôt de Bourges, qui avait frappé un clerc de Saint-Etienne, 1332," *La Semaine religieuse du Berry* 4 (1968): 624; Girardot, *Chapitre de Saint-Etienne*, 69-70.

[61] On the 27 December 1367 the Duke of Berry confirmed the autonomy of St. Etienne while reprimanding his officers for their illegal activities in the cloister (Arch. Cher 8G 278); on the 25 June 1396 he again heard similar complaints from the dean and chapter, and took the necessary action (ibid.).

[62] Arch. Cher 4H 1, fol. 56r°.

[63] Arch. Cher 4H 179; Arch. Cher 4H 14 no. 3.

[64] La Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry*, 99; Endemann, *Markturkunde und Markt*, 80 and n. 28, 137, 195; Lot, *Recherches sur la population*, 54.

[65] Arch. Cher 12H 4 no. 20 (Confirmation by Charles VII in 1455 of the charter of Philip Augustus in 1181).

[66] *Ordonnances* supplementary vol.: 267-268.

[67] Chaumeau, *Histoire de Berry*, 106; see also Mathieu Planchon, "La foire aux gâteaux à Bourges," *MSAC* 37 (1914-16): 315-318.

[68] Arch. Cher 39H 89; see also Appendix C.

[69] Arch. Cher 14G 273 (original); Luchaire, *Actes de Louis VII*, 199 no. 307.

[70] Arch. Cher 4H 137 no. 1.

[71] Arch. Cher 14G 237 (original); Arch. Cher 4H 145 no. 8 (copy) and no. 18 (summary).

[72] Arch. Cher 14G 237 (original); Arch. Cher 4H 145 no. 16 (copy).

[73] Arch. Cher 4H 145 no. 18 fol. 10r°.

[74] Arch. Cher 14G 237 (original); Arch. Cher 4H 137 no. 1 (copy).

[75] Arch. Cher 14G 237.

[76] See mss. in ibid., dated 1 June 1423, 14 June 1423, 19 June 1423, 5 May 1424, and 18 May 1425.

[77] See above, footnote 8.

[78] Arch. Cher 14G 237 (original); Arch. Cher 14H 145 no. 17 (copy).

[79] Arch. Cher 14H 126 no. 8; Arch. Cher 4H 14 no. 21 (copies); see also Buhot de Kersers, "Essai de reconstruction," 164-166, no. 75.

[80] See Appendix C.

[81] *Olim* 1: 7, no. 7.

[82] Arch. Cher 4H 144 no. 148. *Mémoire* dated 1716 claiming that these charters give the monks the right to the salt tax. They cannot produce these titles, but do present to the court charters of Louis VII (1168) and Charles VII (1447). In 1548 Francis I acknowledged that the tax dated back to "Le Roy Clotaire" (Arch. Cher 4H 138 no. 1).

[83] *Olim* 1: 7 no. 7.

[84] Taillemite, *Vie économique et sociale*, 149.

[85] See rental contracts dating from 1383 to 1463 in Arch. Cher D 74, D 75, D 81, D 86, and D 87.

[86] Arch. Cher D 82 nos. 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 213.

[87] For the properties of St. Lazare, in particular in the parish of St. Privé, see Arch. Cher D 87, D 279, D 283, D 285, D 294, D 295. For the holdings of the Hôtel-Dieu both in the parish of St. Bonnet and

in the Septaine villages of Nohant and Villeneuve, see Arch. Cher GG 148 and GG 149 (A 1240).

[88] Prou, Actes de Philippe Ier, 360, 363 (confirmation).

[89] Arch. Cher 2H 11.

[90] Arch. Cher E 1207 fols. 3r°-5r°; see also Gandilhon, Politique economique, 174 n. 2.

[91] Arch. Cher 4H 188 no. 1; HB 3: 521-522.

[92] Arch. Cher 4H 205 no. 4.

[93] Arch. Cher 4H 187 no. 1.

[94] Arch. Mun. HH 25.

[95] Arch. Cher 12H 14 no. 1.

[96] Arch. Nat. $X^{1A}10$ fol. 265v°; cited by Gueneau, Sources parisiennes 1: 250-251.

[97] Monjardet, "Recherches sur les institutions," 33-34.

[98] Furgeot, Actes du Parlement 2: 175 no. 7191 (27 April 1345) and 180 no. 7276 (2 June 1346).

[99] Arch. Cher 12H 14 no. 1.

[100] Arch. Nat. $X^{1C}8$; Arch. Cher 2F 52 (ms. copy of Raynal).

CONCLUSION

The dates chosen as the temporal limits of this study, 1100 and 1474, bracket a period of fairly homogeneous development in the history of Bourges. From the time that the ancient vicomté of Bourges entered the royal patrimony, the destiny of the town necessarily became linked to that of the fleur de lys. As the monarchy waged its protracted campaign in the fields of battle and in the courts of justice to assert its sovereignty over the whole of France, so the Berrichon capital gained in importance. Its strategic location as an administrative centre in the heart of the kingdom allowed it to survive, and even to profit from, the vicissitudes of war. Even when for brief interludes the town became part of a princely apanage, its fortunes were inextricably joined with the fate of the Valois monarchy.

This intimate and prolonged association with the royal administration left an indelible stamp upon the civic life and institutions of Bourges. It is in this context, then, that the historian must interpret his sources. But this in no way mitigates the interest of these documents, but rather serves to enhance it. They afford an invaluable opportunity to observe the king's local officers close at hand, in their efforts to implement directives from the curia regis. And further, the sources lend an appreciation of the impact this ubiquitous domanial administration had upon the genesis of municipal self-government.

We have seen that even the basic elements of a civic administration did not appear until the advent of the Hundred Years War. Heretofore the inhabitants of Bourges had found the individual privileges and liberties customarily granted by the French monarchs to their urban subjects quite sufficient for the handling of their affairs, without feeling the necessity of formally forming a community. Royal officers were largely responsible for governing the town, occasionally summoning a general assembly of all the residents to consider a specific problem. The incessant hostilities in the mid-fourteenth century prompted the election of *ad hoc* magistrates to organise Bourges' defences. While the mandate of these *élus* became expanded somewhat as their election became an annual occurrence, their powers nonetheless were very limited; it is significant that for one of the most important attributes of municipal self government--the administration of, or at least participation in, justice--the authority was vested not in the elected town officials, as in most communes, but in the townspeople at large. Whatever powers the *élus* exercised were delegated directly by the general assembly. The municipal administration functioned in keeping with custom, and so remained without concrete definition. Even this limited degree of self-government was possible only with the assent and co-operation of the local officers of the Crown. It was primarily due to their presence that the essential simplicity of this system of government did not become more refined and sophisticated.

The basic outline of the evolution of Bourges' government holds true for a number of other *bonnes villes* in the royal domain[1]--Tours, Angers, Blois, Orléans, Château-dun, Chartres, and Le Mans. In Berry the municipal systems in Châteauroux, Argenton, Saint-Benoît-du-Sault, Saint Marcel, Aigurande and La Châtre bear some resemblance to that of the province's capital, prompting Thierry and Mazières-Mauléon to claim for Bourges a great influence upon municipal institutions not just in its region but also in Navarrais and Orléanais.[2] Monjardet counters that the contrary probably has more truth, for the smaller centres distant from the domanial administration needed a more complex government to handle their greater responsibilities; she postulates that the systems developed by these small towns of the province may have influenced the organisation of the *élus* at Bourges.[3] Unfortunately the lack of thorough studies of the *bonnes villes* in Berry and elsewhere precludes a comparative analysis which might lead to valid conclusions on this issue.

It is most likely however that, as with the communes governed by the *Etablissements de Rouen*, the similarity of the systems among the domanial *bonnes villes* was merely superficial. The designations of the *élus* varied from place to place, as did their number, the mode of their election, and their powers. These civic governments were superimposed upon a pre-existing palimpsest of custom which varied greatly from one locality to the next. The concept of a *bonne ville* was essentially pliable, bending itself readily to adjust to local jurisdictions within the limits of a town. Thus it is improbable that such a system could be transposed intact from one town to another. While the civic government of Bourges bore some affinity to that of several sister towns in the royal domain, its form was conditioned primarily by indigenous factors.

But not all royal towns had the rudimentary form of municipal government which has been described at Bourges. Indeed, some enjoyed quite sophistocated, perhaps even over-elaborate, systems with several levels of delegation of authority. This is true in particular of those towns granted the status of a commune under the *Etablissements de Rouen*. One well may ask why a town of such prominence and prosperity as Bourges remained satisfied with a government of such simplicity.

When the communal fervour was sweeping through the towns of northern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Bourges was only a provincial market centre which was just beginning to gain an administrative importance within the royal domain. By the time that the cloth industry and political circumstances caused Bourges to be numbered among the major towns of France, the heyday of the commune had passed; in town after town the communal form of self-government was abandoned (whether at the instigation of the king or of rival urban oligarchies) in favour of some degree of royal control. Even the communes which continued to exist within the royal domain had constitutions imposed upon them which allowed the king to exert considerable control over the *corps de ville*, including the final selection of the mayor.[4]

In any case, the circumstances were never propitious for Bourges to form a commune, or even to attain a greater autonomy in the conduct of civic affairs. The element of conflict with the lord which prompted the inhabitants of other towns to swear a *conjuratio* was lacking in Bourges. The community of Bourges was fused by a shared status in the royal *seigneurie* and by common economic and social interests rather than by political factors. This attitude made it comparatively easy for the ever-vigilant officers of the Crown to maintain their domination of urban affairs.

There can be little question that the domanial administration stifled the development of municipal institutions. Nevertheless it would be rash to condemn this as prejudicial to the interests of the townspeople. In the main the royal officers seem to have governed the town well and to have respected the privileges of the inhabitants, such as the justice des bourgeois. Certainly there is no evidence prior to 1474 that the townspeople desired a more autonomous government.

It is difficult however to arrive at a similarly favourable conclusion about ecclesiastical power in the town. Although Bourges was generally considered to be a royal town, in fact residents of the town made obeissance to a goodly number of seigneurs. The walls which divided the town into independent cells symbolised much deeper divisions--political, judicial, commercial, and social--which even more effectively separated one group of inhabitants from another than did class barriers. The constant conflicts between the administrators of the bourgs and the royal cité, and even among the religious houses themselves, bear witness to the fact that such a fragmentation of authority was not conducive to good governance and civic harmony.

Thus the municipal government had to adapt to a situation where the Crown and the Church wielded unassailable authority within the town. It is possible however that the modern observer, tutored in concepts of territorial sovereignty, sees anomalies in this myriad of jurisdictions which would not be apparent to the medieval citizen of Bourges. For him, as with his fellows in all towns both ancient and modern, the most immediate concerns were taxation, the prosperity of the local economy, sanitation and public health, and public order. And despite the perennial conflicts between rival jurisdictions, it cannot be denied that in general the people of medieval Bourges fared passing well.

Footnotes

[1] For a sketch of the multiplication of the bonnes villes, see Chevalier, Tours, 82-84.

[2] Augustin Thierry, Essai sur l'histoire du Tiers-Etat (Paris, 1868), 67-68, quoted by Henri de Mazières-Mauléon, Régime municipal en Berri, 37.

[3] Monjardet, Institutions municipales, 38-39.

[4] Giry, Etablissements de Rouen 1: 13, 432.

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* For the guidance of French readers, the sources have been alphabetized according to standard North American style.

APPENDIX A

THE SEPTAINE OF BOURGES

The origin and significance of the term Septaine, which is peculiar to Bourges, has long puzzled historians. There is general agreement that it refers to the immediate environs of the town of Bourges, but opinions diverge as to the etymology of the term. In 1566 Jean Chameau discarded the popular theory that Septaine derived somehow from septus, or seven, postulating instead the the root must be septa (from saepire), indicating "l'enclos environ et entour de Bourges."[1] This explanation seems more plausible than Raynal's attempt to trace Septaine to another numerical origin, this time centena,[2] presumably analagous to the English "Hundred," a suggestion which Dietrich Claude rejects out of hand.[3]

Unfortunately, the actual significance of the Septaine is almost as obscure as its derivation. Yet the term constantly recurs in charters throughout the period encompassed by this study. Claude suggests that the fact that the boundaries often do not coincide with those of the parishes is an indication that the Septaine may well predate Louis VI when the parishes were established.[4] Charles Petit-Dutaillis identifies the Septaine with the "judiciary district" of the vicomte of Bourges;[5] certainly there is no doubt that the area was included in the sale of the vicomté by Eudes Arpin. From the time of Bourges' entry into the royal domain, the Septaine is always mentioned in royal charters in the same breath as is the town. It is clear that the consuetudines, or customs which governed the inhabitants of Bourges applied also to those in the Septaine. In 1145 Louis VII abolished the right of the prévôt and his deputies to take part of the harvest or to claim the right of gîte, or hospitality, in the Septaine.[6] The 1181 charter of Philip Augustus which limited and defined the jurisdiction of the prévôt always referred to his authority as extending throughout the Septaine. For example, the men of Bourges and the Septaine could be cited in the first instance only before the court of the prévôt in Bourges.[7] Such clauses as this lend credence to the categorical statements of La Thaumassière[8] and of Nicolas de Nicolay[9] that the Septaine defined the geographical limits as the jurisdiction of the prévôté of Bourges. In 1315 an illuminating case was brought before the Parlement of Paris by the abbey of St. Ambroix of Bourges who claimed the possession of high and low justice in the town of Nohant; the royal prévôt of Bourges based his counterclaim that this justice fell within his purview upon the contention that Nohant was "de septena et de justicia civitatis Bituricensis."[10]

This association of the Septaine with the prévôté is not inconsonant with a key phrase in the 1181 charter of Philip Augustus which states that damage to the cité walls was to be determined "per probos homines ipsius civitatis ad quos omnia judicia villae ejusdem et septenae ab antiquo dignoscuntur pertinere."[11] Raynal concludes from this clause that the authority of the four "prudhommes" elected to the government of Bourges must extend to the Septaine.[12] However it may be argued that these same probos homines who exercised the judicia villae are to be identified with the justice des bourgeois, or judgement by peers, which was hallowed by custom. These popular judgements were always rendered in the presence of, and thus implicitly by the authority of, the royal prévôt. Thus the inhabitants of the Septaine would, by virtue of their inclusion in the prévôté, be subject to judgement by the bourgeois of Bourges. Furthermore, it would seem that the men of the Septaine could also participate in these judgements. When the jurisdiction of this tribunal was challenged in 1261 by the Count of Sancerre, he complained that he had been judged "per burgenses ville et alios de septena quorum sunt judicia ville"; when the Parlement of Paris upheld the popular justice, it specified that the case be tried in the presence of not only the "burgensium ville, set clericorum et militum de septena."[13]

The geographical boundaries of the Septaine, and thus of the prévôté, are ambiguous; not even sixteenth-century commentators could be precise. Nicolas de Nicolay declared in 1567 that the Septaine encompassed twenty-six parishes (treating Levet and St. Lunaise as one). However, since seven of these parishes (St. Eloy-de-Gy, Berry, St. Just, Vorley, Levet, Ste. Lunaise, and St. Martin d'Auxigny) were included only in part,[14] the pre-Revolution parish boundaries cannot be relied upon. The following map shows the chief villages of each of these parishes, based upon a correlation of Nicolay's list with Cassini's map of Berry drawn near the beginning of the seventeenth century.[15] Thus an idea may be gained of the approximate area of the Septaine. The peripheral outlines on the map indicate the boundaries of the present-day Département of Cher, which should aid in orientation.

Footnotes

[1] Chaumeau, Histoire de Berry, 248.

[2] HB, 2: 248.

[3] Claude, Topographie, 175.

[4] Ibid., 175.

[5] Petit-Dutaillis, Feudal Monarchy, 83.

[6] CL, 62.

[7] Ibid., 64.

[8] NC, 10.

[9] N. de Nicolay, Description générale, 57-58.

[10] Olim 3 (part 2): 973-974, no. XXXVII.

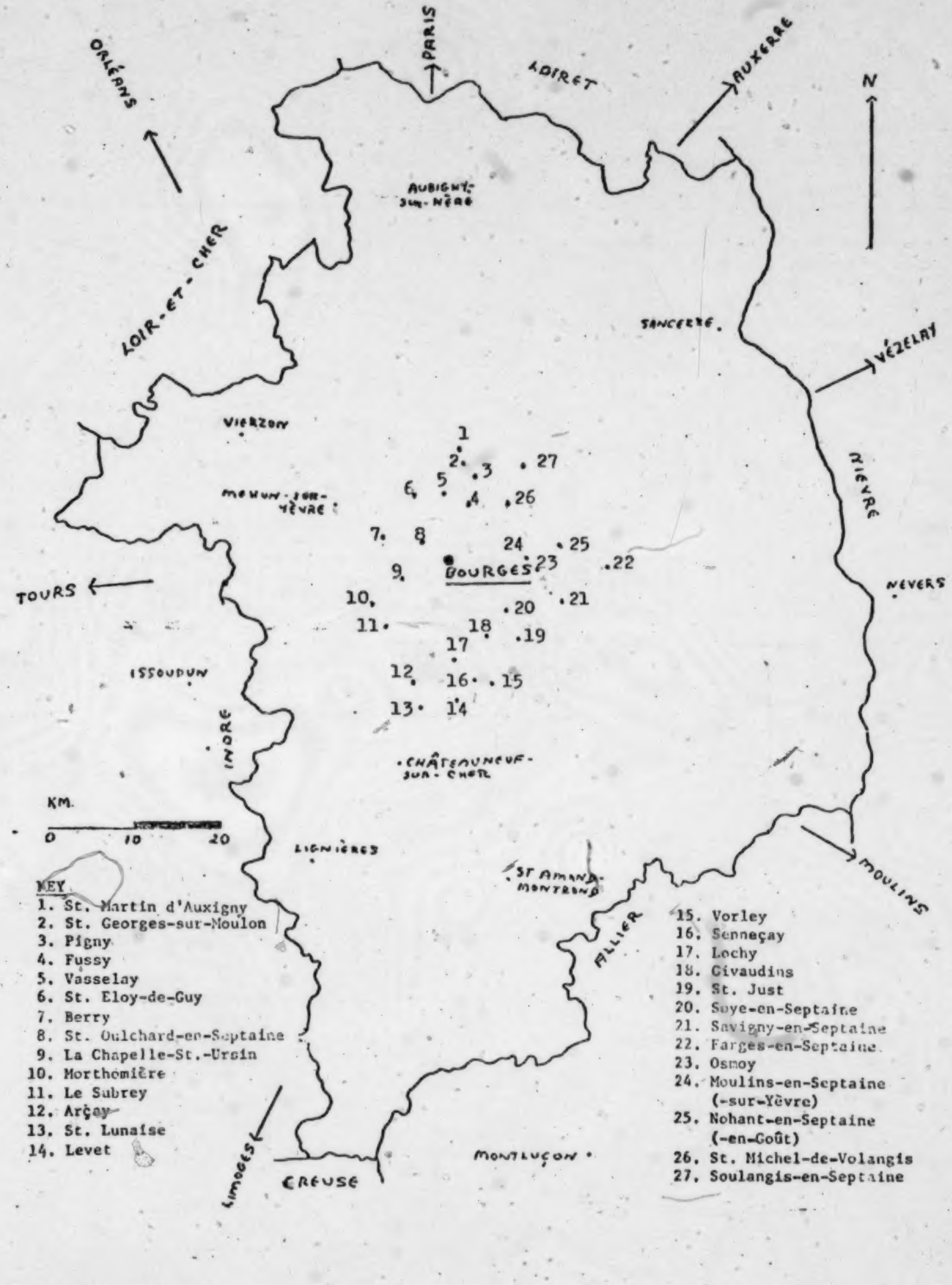
[11] CL, 64.

[12] HB 2: 13 n. 2.

[13] Olim 1: 510, no. XI.

[14] N. de Nicolay, Description générale, 57-58.

[15] Arch. Cher carte 23.


ORLÉANS
PARIS
LOIRET
AUXERRE
N
AUBIGNY-SUR-NÈRE
LOIR-ET-CHER
SANCERRE
VÉZELAY
VIERZON
NIÈVRE
MEHUN-SUR-YÈVRE
1
2
3
27
6
5
4
26
7
8
24
25
9
BOURGES
23
22
TOURS
10
20
21
NEVERS
11
18
19
17
ISSOUDUN
12
16
15
13
14
INDRE
CHÂTEAUNEUF-SUR-CHER
KM.
0
10
20
LIGNIÈRES
ST AMAND-MONTROND
MOULINS
ALLIER
LIMOGES
MONTLUÇON
CREUSE

KEY

1. St. Martin d'Auxigny
2. St. Georges-sur-Moulon
3. Pigny
4. Fussy
5. Vasselay
6. St. Eloy-de-Guy
7. Berry
8. St. Oulchard-en-Septaine
9. La Chapelle-St.-Ursin
10. Morthomière
11. Le Subrey
12. Arçay
13. St. Lunaise
14. Levet
15. Vorley
16. Senneçay
17. Lochy
18. Civaudins
19. St. Just
20. Soye-en-Septaine
21. Savigny-en-Septaine
22. Farges-en-Septaine
23. Osmoy
24. Moulins-en-Septaine (-sur-Yèvre)
25. Nohant-en-Septaine (-en-Goût)
26. St. Michel-de-Volangis
27. Soulangis-en-Septaine

APPENDIX B

THE REVOLT OF 1474

I. Instructions of Louis XI to the commissioners appointed to investigate the revolt (29 April 1474).

Source: Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 2912 fol. 6.

LOYS PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU ROY DE FRANCE.
A notre ame et feal conseiller le Sire de Gre Et nos amez et feaulx les sires du Fou et du Bouchaige nos chambellans, maistres Guillaume Allegrin Jehan de Cauvrieil et Guillaume de Vitry noz conseillers et Jehan Colletier examinateur en notre Chastellet a Paris salut et dilection. Il est venu a notre cognoissance que ala promotion conspiration et mauvais conseil introduction et conduicte daucuns traitres conspirateurs et aucuns machinateurs contre lauctorite de notre Couronne a este par advis et propos delibere et malie pourpensee faicte une commotion et assemblee de peuple alencontre de noz officiers en notre ville de Bourges. A cause de ce que nosdit officiers soustenoient noz droits et deniers contre lesquelz noz offiers aeste par iceulx faisans ladite commotion tellement procede aport darinez [?] et autrement voulentairement et de fait. Sans cause ne tenir aucun ordre ou maniere de justice que aucuns de nosdit officiers ont este tuez en plaine rue et autres bleciez et mutilez. Et commectant monopele [sic; i.e., monopole ou conspiration] voys de fait force publicque rebellion et desobeyssance crime de lezemaieste envers nous la Couronne de France et la chose publique de notre Royaulme en eulx declarans formellement et actuellement traitres rebelles et desobeyssans a lencontre de nous et de la Couronne. A quoy a este requis y donnez prompte punision Pource est il que nous ces choses considerees qui ne voulans telz cas et enormes crimes de leze maieste passez sans pugnition desirans ace pourveoir et repairez la force et abus dessusdit et reduire notredite ville en bonne seurete justice et police et obviez atelles conspirations et ceditions. Confians a plain devozsens [sic] loyaultez preudonnces souffisances et bonnes diligences vous mandons demandons et etroictement enjoignons en commectant par ces presentes et chaeun de vous que en toute diligence vous vous transportez en notredite ville de Bourges et ailleurs ou vous advisiez et illec vous vous informez de et sur ledit commotion assemblee sedition conspiration machination et crime de lezemaieste et autres choses dessusdites leur circonstances et deppendances et tous ceux que vous trouverez chargez ou coulpables ou vehementement souspeconnez davoir fait commis perpetie conseille conspire consenty participe adhere et donne part aide conseil assistance ou saveur ase [sic] ladite commotion ... Et pareillement tous ceulx qui sen sont aperceuz ou peu vray semblablement apercus ou qui les auront entretenuz receptez favorisez recuillez ou ouir nouvelles deulx ou qui leur en ont fait savoir ou qui ont este leurs acointes ou qui feussent de la commotion qui fut faicte pour lors que lon cuida occire ou oultragez le lieutenant de la Grosse Tour et autres noz officiers pareillement tous ceulx qui ont murmure ou donne taisible ou expres qsentement [sic] ou qui les ont supportez de fait et nont tenue la main forte avecques noz officiers sans actendre den estre requis veu

qui veroient la voye de fait lurgente neccessite [sic] et peril emminent et nosdit officiers tuez batuz navrez mutilez en leurs presentes et a leur veu et sceu parquoy nosdit officiers et noz bons et loyaulx subgectz et lamour de nous et de la Couronne. Vous prenez ou faictes prendre au corps reaulment et de fait par force et puissance darmes et autrement en toutes les facons que pourrez quelque part que trouvez pourront estre en lieu saint et dehors soit larcevesque dudit lieu ceulx de son chappitre ou autres gens deglise de ceulx de luniversite officiers ou autres privilegiez de quelque calise [?] ou diguise quilz soient. Et iceulx constituez ou faire constituez prisonniers en bonnes et fortes prisons ou puissiez estre seurs de leurs personnes. Et procedez alencontre deulx ordinairement ou extraordinairement en donnant et prononcant vos sentences criminelles alencontre deulx et de chacun deulx comme conspirateurs et machinateurs traitres rebelles desobeyssans et crimineulx de crime de lezemaieste selon leurs demerites. Et icelles voz sentences criminelles faictes executez ou faictes executez [sic] rigoureusement et sans deport. Nonobstant opponens ou appellations quelzconques faictes ou a faire pour lesquelles ne voulons lexecution de ces presentes estre differe ou retarder. De ce faire a vous et a chacun de vous donnons plain povoir auctorite commission et mandement especial. Mandons et commandons a tous noz justiciers officiers et subgectz a vous et a vous commis et depputez ce faisant obeyssent et entendent diligemment et vous prestent et donnent conseil confort aide et prisons se mestier est. Donne a Senlis le xxix^{e} jour davril lan de grace mil CCCC soixante quatorze. Et de notre regne le treizieme.

II. Confiscations and fines imposed upon certain townspeople of Bourges involved in the revolt.

Source: Accounts of Jean Bureau, appointed by the commissioners for the reformation of the town. Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 2912 fols. 14r°-23v°.

RECEPTE
ET PREMIEREMENT
CONFISCATIONS

des biens de Colin de Bloiz nagueres execute en ceste ville de Bourges vend par Robert Rubault sergent du Roy notreseigneur a Jehan le Courroyeur et a Jehanne Poniere comme appert par le papier de maistre Thomas Desmoillat commis a faire le contrerolle par mesdits seigneurs les commisaires de la recepte desdits confiscations et amandes	9 l.	13 s.	4 d.
des biens de Pierre Marigny demourant en la Rue de la Meredieu vend a Jehan Gautheron	4 l.	10 s.	6 d.
des biens de Jehan d'Auvergne demourant en la Rue des Arames vend ... a messire Nicole Raymond la somme (4 mai)		26 s.	7 d.
des biens de Jehans Bastart demourant en la Rue de la Meredieu vend a Jehanne Chaillone (15 mai)	4 l.		4 d.
des biens de Symon Petit demourant en la grant Rue de Saint Bonnet vend ... a Pierre Huetere le plus offret	8 l.	7 s.	8 d.
des biens de Pierre le Torcol vend ... Jehan Gaultheron comme le plus offrant (15 mai)		117 s.	10 d.
des biens de Clement le Bourrelite vend ... a Jehan Bel par Jehan Gaulteron (16 mai)	4 l.	14 s.	2 d.
des biens de grant Jehan Coillant le peletier vend ... a Jehan Minart (23 mai)	7 l.	15 s.	7 d.
des biens de Jehan Amoms vend ... a Perron Vesve (14 mai)	6 l.	14 s.	2 d.

des biens de Andre Gernaise vend ... a Jehan Beautemps tant meubles que heritages (25 mai)	100 l.t.		
des biens de feu Pierre Rendin nagueres execute estant en lostel de loiris en la Rue de Saint Bonnet a Clement Robin	68 l.t.		
des biens de maistre Jehan Binoillers vend ... a Katherine Rougere comme le plus offrant (25 mai)		70 s.	
des biens de Guillette le Roy dit la Pucelle vend ... a François Bourdedieux		69 s.	10 d.t.
des biens de Jaquet Rapine vend a Thomas Jaudon (25 mai)	10 l.	15 s.	7 d.t.
des biens de Colin Henaise vend a Jehan Beautemps son sitee tant meubles que heritages par appointement fait entre mesdits seigneurs et ledit Jehan Beautemps (25 mai)	150 l.t.		
des biens de Jehan de Carion boulanger demourant a Saint Ambroys vend a Thenemon de la Roche	4 l.	50 s.	8 d.
des biens de Jehan de Segay vend a Katherine Villaine (2 juin)		61 s.	4 d.
des biens de Bernard Mourant vend ... a Pierre Grault (2 juin)	6 l.	10 s.t.	
des biens de Jehan de Boulece de Saint Michau de Balangy vend a Jaquet Vrorha	8 l.	7 s.	4 d.t.
des biens de Grant Grangier (8 juin)	4 l.	1 s.	8 d.

Autres receptes des amandes tauxees par mesdits seigneurs les commissaires ...

de Perrin Girault laisne boulanger pour une amande en laquelle il a este condampne par mesdits seigneurs et tauxee le xxviiie jour de mai mil CCCC lxxiiii	20 l.t.

similarly

Laude Augay	20 l.t.	
Mathieu Chatemps	35 l.t.	
Jehan Gautin	20 l.t.	
Jehan Charin		20 s.
Jehan Alment boulanger		100 s.

Jehan Quarre boulanger	10 l.t.
Jehan Bonnet boulanger	10 l.t.
Jehan Berthet boulanger	10 l.t.
Marion Larmiriere	20 l.t.
Denis Tallon boulanger	10 l.t.
Thomas Sulpice	20 l.t.
Rainaut Anolle	10 l.t.
George Alement boulanger* (of 400 l.t. due)	200 l.t.
Jehan Gueret boulanger* (of 400 l.t. due)	200 l.t.
Perin Darche dit Girault (of 200 l.t. due)	60 l.t.
Estienne Cousin boulanger* (of 30 l.t. due)	15 l.t.

Source: Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 2912 fol. 26.

Debtes deues au Roy notreseigneur par les personnes cy apres nommes a cause de la detestable sedition naguere commise en la ville de Bourges.
Et premierement

Jehanne la Guyote femme de Pyon Guyot condampnee en amende envers le Roy en	60 l.t.	
George Lalement* pour pareille cause	400 l.t.	
Marc Boisseau	100 l.t.	
Perrin Girault	200 l.t.	
Pierre Soupizon	300 l.t.	
Lehot Liart	200 l.t.	
Gurart Guillant	100 l.t.	
Glande Auguin	20 l.t.	
Mathieu Chatemps	35 l.t.	
Thomas Soupizon	20 l.t.	
Perrin Gasche & Girault le Jeune	200 l.t.	
Jehan Bonnet	10 l.t.	
Marion Larminere	20 l.t.	
Jehan Guerin	20 l.t.	
Estienne Cousin*	30 l.t.	
Jehan La Leude		100 s.t.
Denis Cleud de Talon	10 l.t.	
Jehan Bretet	10 l.t.	
Jehan Carre	10 l.t.	
Ranault Avoule	10 l.t.	
Jehanne Barate	10 l.t.	
	2,065 l.	100 s.t.

*Fines later reduced by special grace of Louis XI.

III. Louis XI issues detailed instructions for the government of Bourges by a major and twelve _échevins_ (June 1974).

Source: Original lost. Text taken from Arch. Mun. AA 1 fols. 5-12 (copy of 20 January 1584). Thirteen other copies made up to 1776 may be found in AA 1, AA 4, AA 5, AA 11.

LOIE PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU ROY DE FRANCE
Scavoir faisons a Tous presens et advenir que comme puis naguere pour certaines et grandes causes et considerations a ce nous mouvans Nous avons faict et cree en notre ville et cite de Bourges ung maire et douze eschevins pour traicter conduyre et gouverner les affaires dicelle. Sans que ayons encores declare et ordonne commens ilz se devrons gouverner ne leur maniere de faire. Et a ceste cause ayans iceulx maire et eschevins presentemens envoye pardevers nous et nous ayens font supplier et requerir que notre plaisir soit en faire declaration et ordonnance et aussi leure donner et octroyez telz et semblables droitx prerogatives privillieges libertez et franchises que ont le marie et eschevins de nos aultres villes ... POURQUOY nous ... considerans ... que cest le lieu de notre naissance et nativite desirans a ceste cause accroitre et augmenter les honneurs et prerogatives de nostre ville et cite a exemple des aultres et donner courauge et vouloir aux habitans en icelle de bien en myeulx eulx gouverner AVONS ... de notre certain science grace especial pleine puissance et auctorite royal a notredite ville et cite de Bourges pour les bourgeos marchans manans et habitans en icelle donne et octroye ... les droitz previllieges prerogatives franchises libertez et aultres qui sonsuyvens ET PREMIEREMENT avons voulu et ordonne ... que a la fin de lannee de notredite creation le maire de notredite ville et six desdictz douze eschevins se meuront et changerons et en serons esleuz de nouveaux et au regard des six aultres eschevins ilz demourerons jusques a lannee ensuyvens pour instruire et apprendre ausdit maire et eschevins nouveaux le gouvernemens de ladite ville et se fera leslection diceulx maire et eschevins en la mainere qui sensuict. CEST ASSAVOIR que ledict maire nommera et baillera par escript les noms de quatre personnes apres quil aura faict sermons solempnel en la presence desditz eschevins de nommer et bailler ceulx qui luy semblerons estre les plus propice utilles et convenables pour estre maire. Et pareillemens chascun desditz eschevins apres quilz auront faict semblable sermons en presence du maire nommera et baillera par escript de nom du quatre personnes pour estre eschevin et ce fait serons tenuz diceulx maire et eschevins de apporter ou envoyer pardevers nous leditz noms pour diceulx enchoisir et eslire ceulx qui bon nous semblera pour estre maire et eschevins lesquelz ainsi par nous esleux et choisi serons mys en possession par leurs predecesseurs maire et eschevins apres quilz aurons en sur ce response et letres missives de nous et non aultremens et quilz leur aurons faict faire le sermons solempnel aux sainctes evangilles de dieu de bien et loiaulmens regir et gouverner en bonne police les affaires de nostredite ville au meulx quilz pourrons a lhonneur de nous et au bien proffit et utillite de la chose publique de notredite ville et se fera ladicte eslection deslors enavans par chacun an en la forme

et mainere que dessue est dict. ET POUR ACCROITRE lhonneur desdicts maire et eschevins et de leur posterite et leur donner courage de valoir et meulx servir a la chose publique afin que ce sois exemple a tous ... iceulx maire et eschevins qui sont de presans de ceulx qui le serons pour le temps advenir combien quilz ne soient nez et extraictz de noble lignee Avons anoblye et anoblissons par ces presentes ... voulons et conceddons que au temps advenir ilz et chacun deulx avec toute leurdicte lignee et posterite nee et a naistre en loyal mariage soient reputz tenuz et euz pour Nobles et pour telz de tous en tous actes et faictz receuz Et que les prievelleges franchises et libertez que usent les aultres nobles de notre royaulme ilz joissons et usent ... Et acquerir en notre royaulme fiefz Iurisdictions et seigneuries nobles et noblemens tenuz sans pour ce aultremens pauer a nous ne a nos successuers aulcune finance ... Et avec ce iceulx maire et eschevins et tous les aultres manans et habitans de notredite ville et cite de Bourges pour nous et nos successeurs a tousjourmais quitez et exemptez ... de tous ostz chevaulches bannes ou arrierebans que nous ou notre successeurs pourrons faire faire et ordonner pour le faicte de la guerre et aultrement. Et avons voulu et voulons quilz ne soiens pource tenuz ou contrainctz y aller ou envoyer ne a ceste cause faire ou payer aulcune imposition ayde ou amende suppose quilz aient et tiennes fiefz et seigneuroyne nobles a ce tenuz et obligez ... ET POUR CE QUE NOTREDITE VILLE de Bourges na au temps passe estre gouvernee par maire et eschevins et que eux voulons que doresnavans elle le sois tout ainsi et par la forme et maniere que ons este et sons nos villes de La Rochelle et de Tours PARQUOY les droitz et prerogatives desditz maire et eschevins sons incogneuz ausdits bourgeons manans et habitans de notredite ville de Bourges ... donnons et octroyons par ces presentes ausditz maire et eschevins qui sont de presens et qui serons en temps advenir pour le gouvernemens de notredite ville au tel pouvoir semblable Justice prerogatives et preheminences en notredite ville de Bourges et ailleurs qui ont ceulx de nosdits villes de la Rochelle et de Tours et que au faict et exercise desditz maire et eschevins et en toutes et chacuns choses devans dites et declarees ilz ensemble lesditz manans et habitans se reglens et gouvernans ainsi et par la forme et manere que sons ceulx de nosdites ville de la Rochelle et de Tours et non aultremens desquelz droitz et previlleges dessus declarez et aultres quelzconques qui ons et peulvons [sic] avoir les maire et eschevins pairs bourgeois manans et habitans de nosdites villes de la Rochelle et de Tours ... ET A CE QUE MIEULX et plus certainemens la puissance faire que par lesditz de la Rochelle et de Tours soient doublez aux despens desditz de Bourges les livres et memoires des statuts et ordonnances quilz ons en icelles villes ... et que les doubles deuemens collationez aux originaulx et approuvez par notaires suffisans soiens baillez et delivrez ausditz de Bourges pour leur servir et valloir au regime et conduicte diceulx droictz et previlleiges comme il appartiendra et au regard de toute daultre Justice Jurisdiction et Judicature que avoient et ons eu parcydevans les quatre qui ons este en ladicte ville de Bourges elle sera et demourera a nos Bailly de Berry et provost de notredite ville de Bourges ou leurs Lieutenans presens et advenir chacun a son regard et ne se meslerons ne aurons iceulx maire et eschevins aulcune Justice Jurisdiction ou Judicature quelzconques sinon par la forme et manere qui dessus est dit et declare. ET POUR TRAICTER des affaires de notredite ville et cite de Bourges et daultres choses qui y surviendrons desditz maire et eschevins serons tenuz par necessite de eulx trouver et assembler tous les jours devans lheure de midy dans matin quilz vouldrons excepte a jour de feste en lhostel de ladicte ville et en attendons quilz ayens hostel de la ville en lhostel du maire et pourrons lesditz maire et eschevins ou sept **desditz eschevins en labsence des** aultres faire ordonner et conclure esdites affaires et matierer aussi quilz verrons estre a faire. Et au cas que le maire ny serois nous voullons et ordonnons que le plus antcien des six premiers presida et site au lieu dedit maire en son absence. Et que tous ce qui sera par eulx faict ordonne et conclure soit de tel effect et valleur comme si ledit maire et tous lesdits eschevins y estoiens ensemble. Et si apres midy ilz se veullens pareillemens assembler ilz le pourrons faire et besogner et conclure comme dessus et si aulcunes affaires surviendrons a ladicte ville a quoy lesdits maire et eschevins congnoissens ne pouvoins fournir de deniers communge dicelle nous leur avons donne et donnons faculte et puissance de mettre sus imposer et lever sur toutes les marchandises entrans en ladicte ville et faulxbourges quilz verrons estre a faire aulcun legere subside jusques a la somme de mil livres tournoy et audessoubz par chascun an. Et de constraindre et faire contraindre tous ceulx qui a ce serons tenuz par prises et arrest des marchandises et autremens comme pour nos propres dettes et tout ainsi que ceulx de ladicte ville de Tours. Et avec ce avons voulu et ordonnons que chascun an ilz puissans eslire lun desditz habitans et le faire Recepveur pour celluy an desditz deniers commungs desquelz il distribura par lordonnance dudit Maire et de ceulx des eschevins qui a ce serons ordonnez et non aultremens et sera tenuz en rendre compte pardevans icelluy maire et lesditz eschevins et les aulcuns deux a ce commis qui les pourrons oyr et examiner clore et assiner ainsi quil appartiendra. Et pareillemens pouvoir faire et eslire procureur greffier et aultres officiers dicelle ET EN OULTRE POUR redimer les vexations obvier aux abbuz qui chascun jour se sons en notredit royaulme et reduyre les choses a droict communge AVONS aussi voulu et ordonne ... que lesdits Maire et eschevins qui sont a presens et qui serons en temps advenir et aussi tous et chascuns les aultres manans et habitans de notredite ville de Bourges par citations monitions adjournemens ou aultre par previlleges de scollarite ou aultres donnez par nos predecesseurs Roys de France et par nous confirmez ou de nouvel donnez ou a donne ne puissens estre citez convenuz ou adjournez ne tirez en aultres Jurisdictions hor de notredite ville de Bourges en premiere instance excepte pour les officiers commencaulx et dommestiques de nous et notre treschere et tresamee compagnon la Royne et de nos enfans seullements ... Donne a Hermenonville au mois de Juing lan de grace mil quatre cens soizante et quatorze. Et de notre regne le quatorziesme. Ainsi signe par le Roy les Sieur d'Argenton du Bouchage et aultres presens.

APPENDIX C

I. List of the revenues divided between the king and the abbey of St. Sulpice from the *tonlieu* levied on merchandise entering Bourges for sale, compiled at the beginning of the twelfth century.

Source: Original: Cartulary A of St. Sulpice, folio 61.
Published: Buhot de Kersers, "Essai de reconstitution du Cartulaire A de Saint Sulpice de Bourges," *MSAC* 35 (1912), 173-175; *HB* 2: 524.

Hec sunt consuetudines quas debent rex et Sanctus Sulpicius quas auferunt homines Bituricenses.

Si homo qui Bituris manet si forte piscis marinos ad vendendum attulerit, consuetudinem reddere debet regi et Sancto Sulpicio, videlicet de milario sepiarum xxx^{ta}, de centum lampredis iii, de miliario arentum, iii deneratas, de unoquoque salmone, unum denarium, de centum bapmis, iii bapmas. Hoc receperunt Bartolomeus thelonearius Sancti Sulpicii qui adhuc vivit et Constancius Minet serviens regis; de Guiberto de Meiduno habuerunt ix^{vem} solidatos de arentiis; de Hugone de foris Sacro-Cesare et Stephano Pinel habuerunt lampredas; de Fromundo et de Bernardo Passanoa et Gerardo Tirlo habuerunt sepias, de Mainerio Boachadoa habuerint consuetudinem salmonem Bernardus cellarius [Sancti Sulpicii] et Bartholomeus theloniarius qui adhuc vivit. Et quia ipse Mainerius reddere noluit, justiciam rex et abbas tempore Hugonis de Rua Nova praepositi habuerunt.

Iterum si burgenses ville bove, vaccas, porcos emerint et ad vendendum foris duxerint, consuetudinem Regi et Sancti Sulpicio reddere debent. Hoc Bartholomeus et Stephanus Rota de Gaufrido Iterii, et de Johanne Caudora iii solidos de porcis et de Constancio Minet et de Pagano et de multis aliis qui porcos revendebant; de Benedicto Brevecto, Bartholomeus et Stephanus Rota, novem denarius habuerunt de bobus.

Quicunque ceram a foris ad vendendum attulerit, licet sit de ipsa villa vel extraneus, de libra unam minutam reddet. Bartholomeus et Durandus Rota et Salvagis de Gosberto Bochit et de Giorneto habuerunt.

Quicunque lanas ad vendendum a foris attulerit, consuetudinem reddere debet. Hoc habuerunt Bartholomeus, Gaufridus Camerarius et Stephanus Rota.

Si burgenses cordoanum, capinas, et thacras a foris ad vendendum attulerint, reddere debent de dozena cordoani iiii denarios, de dozena capinarum ii denarios. de trachra ii denarios.

Quicunque de villa per omnes portas vinum cum quadriga, cum equo, cum asino traxerit, de quadriga ii denarios, de soma equi et asini unam minutam regi et Sancto Sulpicio reddere debet. Hoc habuerunt Johannes prepositus et Petrus de Sancto Ursino.

Hec omnia viderunt et audierunt tempore Arpini et tempore regis Phylippi et paratis sunt jurare et affirmare servientes regis et monachi et servientes Sancti Sulpicii.

II. List of the coutumes or tax revenues and rents due the Duke of Berry, dated 1359.

Source: Arch. Mun. HH 24 fols. 2r°-7r° (two copies from the original, dated 1536 and 1739, the latter is the text presented here.) Arch. Cher 4H 1 fols. 76r°-77v° (copy dated 1489). Arch. Cher 4H 134 no. 2 (copy dated 1489).

Ce sont les Coutumes de Monseigneur le duc de Berry & d'Auvergne quil a En la Ville et Septaine de Bourges, Esquelles Nulz ne pars avec luy, Et apres sen suit, Celles qui partent avec luy le abbe de Saint Sulpice Et depuis Celles qui partent avecques ledit Abbé et le Veer [i.e., voyer, viguier] de Bourges, Et quelle partie Chascun y a Et donce en Diverses party ce par la maniere qui sensuit.

PREMIEREMENT

Les Etaux de la Boucherie de Bourges vallent Cens livres pariis, Et ne paient moins valloir.

ITEM Pour chascun Boeuf Et pour chascune vache vendue, Es Boucheries du dit Monseigneur le duc, doit cinq denier parisis,

ITEM Nul ne puis Et ne doit faire pain a Bourges pour vendre que il ne paye Estal le chascune sepmaine deux parisis En pain sanne, les paticiers qui peuvent faire pain de leur genal [sic] de vij deniers Et sils le font de plus que de cinq deniers ils payeront autant Comme Les autres pannetiers Et leur convient tenir Estau a la panneterie tant comme il y aye Estau Vacquant Et sil y a Estau vacquant ils devront pour cause de l'Estau de vendist a sa feneste six solz parisis pour tout lan. Et ne se pourroit a lesser lestel, sil ne laissoit le metier an et Jour. Et peuvent les Estaulx Enquerir les vus aux autres touttes les fois que il plaise au Coutumier,

ITEM que quiconques amene pain a Bourges pour vendre il doit de Chascune Charge vij deniers parisis Et de la charette deux deniers parisis Et en sont quite pour toute la semaine,

ITEM doivent tous les pannetiers dudit Monseigneur le duc deux parisis de pain toutes les semaines.

SENSUIT LA COUTUME DE LOUAIGE

PREMIEREMENT

Quiconque loue son Cheval a Vin ou Venage mener a Bourges il doit les venanger a la Saint Martin de chascun cheval deux deniers parisis pour toute lannee. Et doit le Vin charroyes,

ITEM quiconques amene Sel a Bourges pour vendre il doit de la charretier Troys dauraulx. Et doit deux menus Et si il est saulnier il ne doit que deux dauraulx, ceulx de Saint Pallais en sont francs,

ITEM tous les Saulniers de Bourges doyvent Chascun une mine de Sel a payer a la Saint André,

ITEM Nul ne doit ne peut Changer es deniers pour autre, ne bailler or ne argent a Bourges sil na conge du Coutumier,

ITEM les Pescheurs de Bourges, de monseigneur le duc doivent chascun an quatorze livres, dix sols parisis. Et sil nen avoit que ung, si le payeroit il [doit] tous le quatorze livres dix sols parisis.

ITEM chascun Saulmon qui est amene a Bourges pour vendre doit cinq deniers parisis,

ITEM chascune charge de gros poix amenee a Bourges, pour vendre ou pour passer outre doit ij coppois de livre Et douze pesans,

ITEM quiconques marchans emmaine drapperie de Bourges ou trepass outre, il doit quatre deniers parisis pour une fois lan, Et son peage, toutes les fois quil vient,

ITEM chascun Pelletier qui fait ouvre neufve doit six deniers parisis a la Saint Ostrille Et onze deniers parisis a la Saint Martin diver,

ITEM chascun tanneur ou ceulz qui font les Souliers neufs doivent a Pasques six deniers parisis Et a Noël six deniers parisis.

CY SENSUIVENT LES COUTUMES que partent Entre ledit Monseigneur le duc Et labbe de Saint Sulpice de Boures.

PREMIEREMENT

La moitie du peage de Bourges, Et loydes des danrees vendues a Bourges, Et [sic] audit Monseigneur le duc, Et lautre a Saint Sulpice, Et Premierement quiconques trepasse par Bourges, quelconques denrees que ce soit bles, ou vin, draps ou avoir depoix, ou toutes autres manieres de marchandise, il doit du Cheval Charge vij deniers parisis, de Charrecte deux deniers parisis se ils ne vont vers dong [i.e., Dun-le-Roi?] Et sils ne vont vers dong, ou vers Bleis [i.e., Blois?] il devra du Cheval six deniers parisis Et de la Charrecte douze deniers parisis, Et se il a de Chargent En la ville de Bourges le cheval ne payera que trois deniers parisis, Et la charrecte six deniers parisis, Et autres Chemins autant sil a chargent En la ville de Bourges, Comme sil trepassent, Cest a scavoir du Cheval vij deniers parisis, Et de la charrete deux deniers,

ITEM quiconques personnes amenant dehors Laine pour revendre il doit pour chascune fois deux deniers parisis,

ITEM quiconques amene Remes pour Seif pour Revendre il doit dehors Et doit chascun cente pesant deux deniers parisis,

ITEM quiconques demeure a Bourges, sil Revende Laine, il doit deux deniers parisis pour toute lannee. Et sy la laine est de ses Bestes il ne doit Rien, ITEM quiconques apporte layne de dehors combien quelle soit de ses Bestes il doit vij deniers parisis, sil nen avoit que deux Toissons, Et sil a charrete il doit deux deniers parisis pour toutes les fois quil en vend,

ITEM quiconques amene Beuf, Vache, Porceau, Truye, asne, ou sommier a Bourges pour vendre, il doit du Beuf et de lasne de Chascun vij deniers parisis, Et de la vache ou de la Truye du porceau. Et de la sommier obolle parisis. Et de ce il ne Excepte Riens. Et nest nuls marchans francs fors les Bouchiers dudit Monseigneur le duc, Et ceux qui ont Maisons En la dicte ville de Bourges,

ITEM quiconques vend chanvre a Bourges, il doit du quart un obolle parisis, Et sil nen a que quatre denrees il ne doit riens, Et en sont Tous les habitans de Bourges francs et Ceux qui Mectent en grenier,

ITEM quiconque achapte chanvre a crochet soit dedans ou dehors, Il doit un denier parisis pour la voye.

ITEM quiconques vend cire a Bourges, il doit du Cent poisant, six deniers parisis. Et ceulx de Bourges ne doivent que a chascune feste de Noël un denier parisis tant seulleman,

ITEM quiconques vend poix a Bourges soit dehors ou dedans il doit vij petarz pour toute lannee,

ITEM quiconques trespasse a Bourges poulain ou pouline, ou Beuf, ou Vache, ou asne, ou Sommiere, il doit du poulain iiii^{d} parisis, Et de la pouline deux deniers parisis, Et du Beuf ou de lasne vij deniers parisis, Et de la vache, de la Sommiere, de la Truye, Et du porceau obolle parisis. Ceux qui ont maison a Bourges en sont francs,

ITEM quiconques huilliers ou marchands en trespassant par Bourges, ou vendent huille Il doit de la somme de deux deniers parisis toutes les fois que il vient,

ITEM quiconques vend poivre a Bourges, il doit de la bale deulx livres de poivre. Ceulx de Bourges En sont francs,

ITEM quiconque amene Sel a Bourges Saint Sulpice a pour chascun Cheval une minee,

ITEM quiconques marchands vendent pallers neuves doivent deux deniers parisis par moitye audit Monseigneur le duc Et a Saint Sulpice,

ITEM chascun poulain de farce vendu a Bourges doit quatre deniers parisis ...

ITEM chascun Cheval sevre qui ne passe ne nuye la ville de Bourges, pour vendre, quartre deniers parisis, Et Chascune jument sevree, ou non dessevree vendue, ou trespasse par Bourges pour vendre, deux deniers parisis, ITEM chascun asne Et pour chascune Sommiere vendue a Bourges ou qui trespasse pour Rendre, chascun asne doit deux deniers parisis, Et la sommiere un denier parisis,

ITEM quiconques amene Basannes a Vendre a Bourges, il doit une Bazanne toutes les fois quil vient, par moitie a Monseigneur le duc, Et a Saint Sulpice.

CY SENSUIVENT LES COUTUMES qui partent ledit Monseigneur le duc et labbe de Saint Sulpice et le Veer de Bourges

PREMIEREMENT

Quiconques amene farene vendre a Bourges, il doit du millier Trois deniers parisis par Tiers, a Monseigneur le duc, a Saint Sulpice, et au Veer,

ITEM quiconques amene oux, ou Oignons, En Charette il doit deux deniers parisis, Et du asne. Trois obolles parisis touttes les fois que ils viennent. Tous les habitans de Bourges en sont francs, en payant trois obolles chascun an,

ITEM quiconques vend mercerie a Bourges, il doit deux deniers parisis par liver a Monseigneur le Duc a Saint Sulpice Et au Veer,

ITEM quiconques amene vendre vin a Bourges, il doit de chascun tonneau deux septiers, dont Monseigneur le duc y a le quart Saint Sulpice lautre Et le Veer la moitye,

ITEM quiconques aporte fleaux on vioge de fleaux il doit deux parisis pour une fois lan, par tiers,

ITEM quiconques apporte Ballez de Boulaz il doit deux deniers parisis par tiers,

ITEM quiconques amene panniers a vendre, il doit trois panniers par tiers,

ITEM quiconques amene charrues a vendre, il doit deux parisis dont monseigneur le duc a la moitie, Saint Sulpice et le Veer lautre,

ITEM quiconques amene torelles pour vendre il doit de la charrette deux deniers parisis, le moitie a Monseigneur le Duc, lautre moitie a Saint Sulpice et au Veer,

ITEM de chascune charette de Bois ou Bouche a vendre qui passe par le pont dievre [de Yèvre] doit deux Buochers ou obolle parisis, en moitye a Monseigneur le duc, Et a Saint Sulpice Et au Veer, lautre moitie.

ITEM quiconques amene vendre pales, deux deniers parisis pour une fois lan, la moictie a Monseigneur le duc, Et a Saint Sulpice, Et lautre moitye au Veer,

ITEM quiconques amene Escuelles pour Vendre, il doit deux parisis toutes les foys qui il vend par tiers a Monseigneur le duc, a Saint Sulpice Et au Veer,

ITEM quiconques amene ou apport Verres il doit trois petits verres par tiers a Monseigneur le duc, a Saint Sulpice, Et au Veer,

ITEM chascun qui vend du fil ou suzeaux il doit pourquoy il doit dehors [sic] deux parisis pour une fois La moictie a Monseigneur le duc et a Saint Sulpice, et lautre moictie au Veer,

ITEM chascun mercier deux derniers parisis pour une fois lan, par tiers, a Monseigneur le duc, a Saint Sulpice, et au Veer,

ITEM quiconques vend hapnas (?) a Bourges il doit deux parisis par tiers, a Monseigneur le duc, a Saint Sulpice, Et au Veer,

ITEM quiconques vend a Bourges Cousteaulx, raisoirs ou quelques ferrement que ce soit que ayt touche a Meulle deux deniers parisis, par tiers a Monseigneur le duc, a Saint Sulpice Et au Veer. Ceulx de Bourges en sont francs,

ITEM quiconques vend grilles, trippiers Et autre fareurs deux parisis par tiers au Roy [sic], a Saint Sulpice Et au Veer.

ITEM quiconque vend Lin a Bourges, il doit deux parisis toutes les fois quil vend, par tiers a Monseigneur le duc, a Saint Sulpice, Et au Veer,

ITEM quiconques fait Bicornes a Bourges, mais quelles soient neuves, il doit deux Bicornes la moictie a Monseigneur le duc, a Saint Sulpice, Et le Veer lautre.

III. De Vicario Biturice Urbis ca. 1100. List of the revenues due to the Lord of Bourges and to the vicarius of Bourges regarding justice and merchandise.

Source: Cartulary A of Saint Sulpice of Bourges, partially destroyed; published by Louis Buhot de Kersers, "Essai de reconstitution du Cartulaire A de Saint-Sulpice de Bourges," MSAC 35 (1912), 232-236.

Sciant posteri nostri, quod vicarium Bituriae urbes ita habuit Humbodus vicarius, ut in insta charta scriptum est. Et ita dedit Odo Arpinus, et Philippus Rex Franciae Humbodo Borbonensi.

Quicumque homo vel foemina clamorem fecerit vicario ex Biturica, aut ex burgis qui circa illam sunt, vicarius duos solides et dimidium ex illo qui fecerit forefactum, et si despexerit vicarium, habebit vicarius septem solidos et dimidium, et iterum quatuor denarios.

Homo non capiet vadimonium sine vicario; quod si fecerit, habebit ex eo vicarius septem solidos et dimidium.

Qui vero traxerit propter jurgium arma, habebunt inter dominum urbis et vicarium sexaginta solidos, duas partes habebit dominus et tertiam partem vicarius.

Si bella sunt inter dominum et vicarium, duae partes domino, et tertia pars vicario: et si pugnaverint dux et vicarius, in potestate sua victum, et capiet duos solidos et dimidium ex illo, et scutum et omnia arma cum quibus pugnavit, habebit vicarius.

Quicumque capiet latronem reddet vicario ita vestitum, ut illum capiet, et si non fecerit, emendabit justitiam vicario.

Qui judiciam portaverit, erit in custodia vicarii et habebit vicarius ex illo pro custodia viginti denarios, et si portaverit judiciam et locutus fuerit, emendabit xxx solidos, decem erunt vicario et vigenti domino.

Quicunque jactaverit in ista vicario aliquod censum, qualecunque sit, erit vicario sine parte quam dominus capiat.

Quicunque bannum infregerit quem vicarius faciet, emendabit forisfactum, et erit tertia pars vicario et due partes domino.

Qui rapuerit mulierem per vim, emendabit lx solidos, tertia pars erit vicario, et due partes domino.

Qui facit domum in viis, emendabit lx solidos, tertii pars erit vicario, et duae partes domino, similiter qui transierit per murum civitatis.

Panum ad vendendum nemo faciet civitate neque burgis, sine jussu vicarii.

Unusquisque panetarius reddet vicario deneratam panis in mense martis, et in festivitate S. Johannis unum panem et in augusto unam deneratam, et Nativitate Domini unum tertellum, et in vigilia Natalis reddet unusquisque macellarius unum denarium, et quicunque vendiderit carnem, similiter unum denarium.

Qui adduxerit vinum de foris ad vendendum, de quadriga habebit vicarius dimidium sextarium, et de carro unum sextarium, et de asinis unum obulum, de unaquaque, tertia erit vicario et duae erunt domino.

Ex omnibus piscibus maris qui venditi erunt, habebit vicarius tertiam partem, et de salmone similiter.

Ex anguillis quae de foris venerint, tertiam partem.

Sutores non mittent corbillas suas in foro sine jussu vicarii.

Qui adportaverit corium et loros secaverit, aut vendiderit, faciet jussu vicarius; si vero non fecerit jussu vicarii, capiet cum vicarius.

Mercerii reddent unusquisque obolum in Martio, et in fera S. Sulpicii, et in fera S. Ambrosii: et si mercerius extraneus venerit, reddet similiter obolum.

Feronus qui vendit ferrum in foro, reddet unum denarium in martio: quicunque vendiderit in foro qualecumque ferramentum, reddet vicario unum denarium.

Si adportaverit cultellos, capiet vicarium dunum denarium et S. Sulpicius alium: similiter ex dolabris de acerio, medietas vicario, et medietas S. Sulpicio.

Nullus mittet petram in foro sine jussu vicarii, et illas quae in foro sunt nullus removebit, qui faciet, emendabit decem solidos, et erit tertia pars vicario, et duos partes erunt domino.

Illi qui vendunt alia et agnus reddet unusquisque in mense martio unum obolum vicario similiter ex porris.

Qui adportaverit de foris allia ad vendendum, similiter reddet obolum.

Tornatores qui faciunt lectulos, et vendunt in foro, capiet vicarius unum; ex illis qui vendunt tinolios, capiet vicarius unum, similiter in quartis.

De asinis qui adportant scamna et arcas, de unoquoque obolum unum, medietas est vicario, et de quadrigis, ex unaquaque duos denarios, meditas erit vicario, et de quadrigaria circulorum, habebit vicarius unum circulum; et de unoquoque asino qui adportat circulo, habebit vicarius unum obolum, similiter de oseriis.

Ex unoquoque asino qui portat ollas ad vendendum, unum esporium, similiter una esolna, et similiter unam latam de lignis quae intrant

7

per portam Utrionis.

Habebit vicarius ex unaquoque quadriga duas palforcas, de unoquoque quadrigario lignorum unam buscam, et de escorcis similiter, de scyphis et scutellis in martio denaratam.

De homini qui de foris venerit denaratam: similiter de molendinis unum molendinum de vistis unam vistum, similiter ex liberis et scammis, de sacerio unum paronarium.

Ex unoquoque qui vendit sal in foro unam manetam, similiter in fera S. Austregisilli, et Sulpicii et S. Laurentii et S. Ambrosii unum rastellum aut unam forcam ex illis qui vendiderint in foro.

Ex candelabris ferri unam candelabrum.

Ex barinnis, unum denarium, ex quadragaria medianis unam, ex corbeliis unam.

De armamentum unum obolum, de cutis unam cutam; de merallis vitri unum; de serruriis quae de foris veniunt, unam; de martellis, unum; de chevestris, unum.

De illis qui adportaverint de foris cordas ad vendendum, unum denarium.

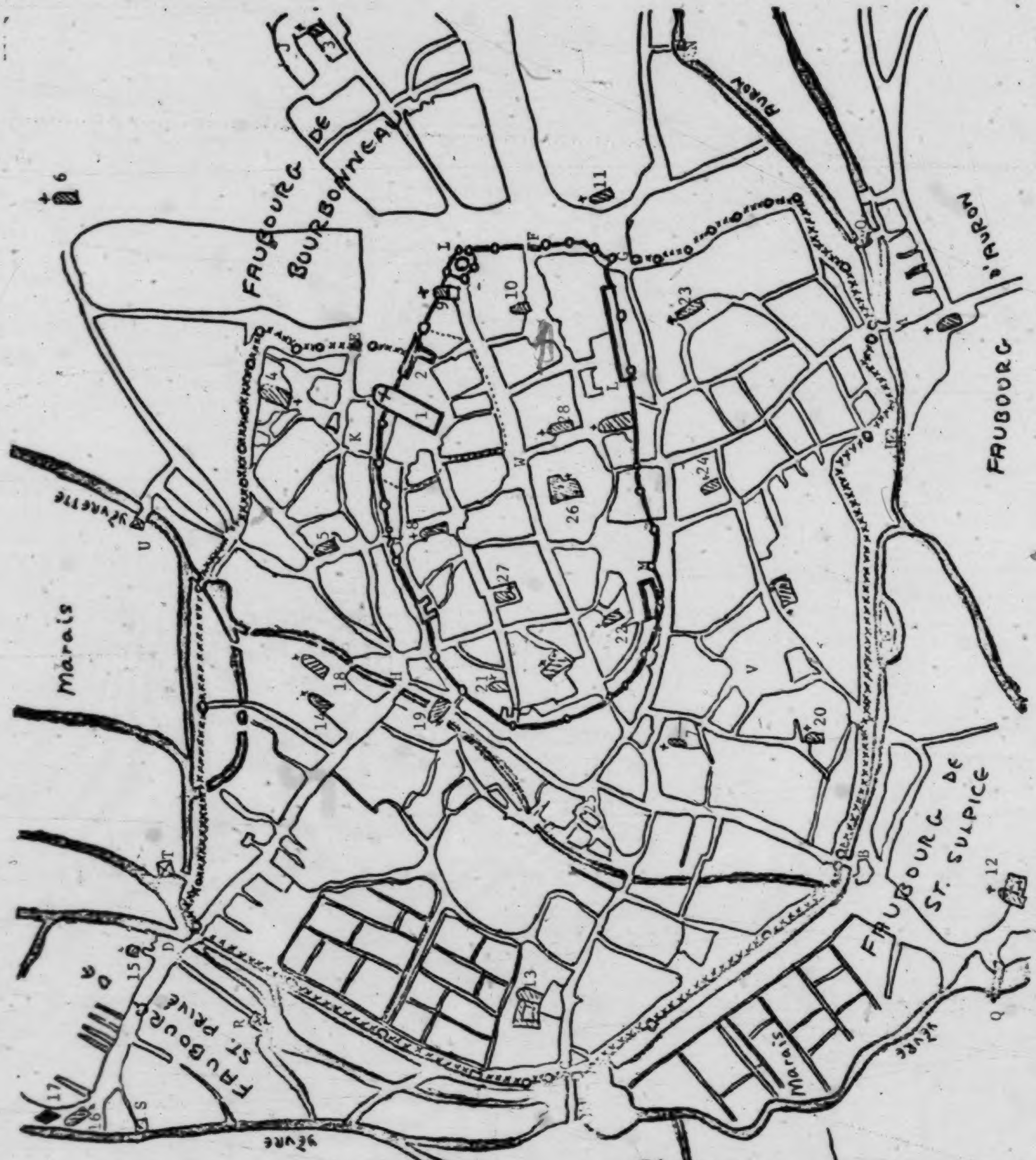
Ex meretricibus, quatuor denarios.

Mensuram annonae et mensures vini tallabit vicarius et boscellos.

Ex summis vini quae egrediuntur de civitate, erit quintum obolum vicario.

Qui adportaverit ferros et clavos ad vendendum, habebit vicarius unum denarium; ex hastis unam hastam; ex arcis de alborio unam arcam; ex terceriis unum tercerium; ex Alio usque ad Pinolium, est judicia vicarii, similiter ex Aloi usque ad Estuesium, de censu habet viginti sex solidos.

APPENDIX D


FAUBOURG DE BOURBONNEAU
FAUBOURG D'AURON
FAUBOURG DE ST. SULPICE
FAUBOURG ST. PRIVE
FAUBOURG
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KEY TO MAP 2

A	Porte d'Auron
B	Porte St. Sulpice
C	Porte St. Ambroix
D	Porte St. Privé
E	Porte de Bourbonneau
F	Porte St. Michel
G	Porte St. Paul
H	Porte Gordaine
I	Grosse Tour
J	Château-lès-Bourges
K	Hôtel-Dieu
L	Palais ducal
M	Palais de Jacques Coeur
N	Moulin St. Paul
O	Moulin Messire Jacques
P	Moulins de la Chappe
Q	Moulin de St. Sulpice
R	Moulin du Pré
S	Moulin-le-Roi
T	Moulin de la Voiselle
U	Moulin de Charlet
V	Les Arènes
W	Rue Moyenne

1	Cathédrale St. Etienne
2	Palais archiépiscopal
3	St. Aoustrille
4	St. Ursin
5	St. Jean-des-Champs
6	St. Martin-des-Brives
7	Ste. Croix
8	St. Pierre-le-Puellier
9	Notre-Dame de Sales
10	Montiermoyen
11	St. Paul
12	St. Sulpice
13	St. Ambroix
14	St. Laurent
15	St. Quentin
16	St. Privé
17	Maladerie St. Lazare
18	St. Bonnet
19	Les Augustins

20 St. Médard
21 Notre Dame de la Comtale
22 St. Aoustrillet
23 St. Fulgent
24 St. Pierre-le-Guillard
25 St. Pierre-le-Marché
26 Les Jacobins
27 Notre Dame du Fichaud
28 St. Jean-le-Viel

—o—o—o— Enceinte Gallo-romaine
xxvOxvxvOvxx Enceinte du XIIe siècle
-------------- Enceinte du cloître St. Etienne

NOTE

The dense topography shown by this map of late medieval Bourges gives rise to the contentious question of the size of the town's population. The confident assertions of earlier historians of Bourges have been based on little more than conjecture. Julius Caesar claimed that only eight hundred Gallic inhabitants survived the massacre of 52 B.C. out of a total population of about forty thousand, a figure which probably was inflated by self-aggrandizement (*Commentarii rerum*, 6.28. 15-18). Gaston Dodu thought that the population must have reached between sixty and sixty-five thousand during the period of the "kingdom of Bourges" (Roi de Bourges," 38), while Edmond Jongleux enthusiastically claimed that by 1487, when the fortunes of the town were waning, one hundred thousand residents were crowded into the *cité*, a wholly unrealistic figure ("L'Hygiène et la santé publique," [1933], 279). In the absence of any hearth tax records or other common sources of demographic data, historians of Bourges have had to extrapolate their estimates from less reliable information such as the widely differing accounts of the destruction wrought by the fire of 1487; the results have been most unsatisfactory. Ferdinand Lot dissected these analyses and concluded that it was highly unlikely that the population *intra muros* ever exceeded fifteen thousand souls during the *ancien régime*, while pointing out that even as late as 1810 only 2,042 persons lived in the faubourgs and adjacent countryside (*Recherches sut la population*, 75-78). This voice of moderation was echoed by Etienne Taillemite, who argued that even during the period of its greatest prosperity Bourges probably could claim no more than twenty thousand residents, a population which for that epoch was "assez honourable" (*Vie économique*, 22). The demographer who has most recently considered Bourges, J.C. Russell, has suggested 16,300 as a plausible population figure for the later Middle Ages (*Medieval Regions* and their Cities [Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972], 35 Table 1). While these estimates by later scholars are still based upon little concrete evidence, they are within the range of credibility, and are unlikely to be refuted by solid contradictory data.